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THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

Mark These Dates on Your Calendar.—The annual convention of the National Municipal League will be held on November 9, 10, and 11 at the Hotel Chalfonte-Haddon Hall, Atlantic City, New Jersey. An interesting and significant program is being arranged revolving around the general subject, "*The Part of Local Government in Recovery.*" Special railroad rates will be available.

* * *

Radio Mail Continues to Pour In.—The present radio series on "Constructive Economy in Government" over the NBC network being sponsored by the Committee on Citizens' Councils for Constructive Economy, continues to bring a flood of mail to the National Municipal League Office.

The present series will be followed by a fall series on the *Crisis in Municipal Finance*. The remaining programs on the present series follow:

September 12—"Merit Versus Spoils." *Harry B. Mitchell*, Chairman, U. S. Civil Service Commission; *Prof. Clyde L. King*, Chairman, Public Utilities Commission of Pennsylvania.

September 19—"Reducing the Public Works Budget." *Carl Schneider*, New Orleans, President, International Association Public Works Officials; *Alfred E. Roche*, Commissioner of Public Works, Troy, N. Y.; *Donald C. Stone*, Research Director, International City Managers' Association.

September 26—"Saving by Planning." *Alfred Bettman*, President, National Conference on City Planning; *George McAneny*, Commissioner of Sanitation of New York City, and President of the Regional Plan Association of New York; *Flavel Shurtleff*, Secretary, American City Planning Institute.

* * *

Pay Your Taxes Campaign.—The National Municipal League is launching a nation-wide "Pay Your Taxes Campaign" to educate the average citizen throughout the country to the importance of paying his taxes in this critical period if municipal credit is to be preserved and essential local governmental services continued. Some funds have been made available for this work and additional support is anticipated. It is, of course, recognized as an essential part of this program that public officials be awakened to the necessity for carrying on governmental services *efficiently*. In many communities administrative reorganization will have to take place before efficiency can be obtained.

The program will be directed by the Committee on Citizens' Councils for Constructive Economy of which Dr. Thomas H. Reed is chairman. Coöperating in the enterprise is a committee of twenty-one bankers which has already communicated by letter with thousands of bond dealers, bankers, bondholders and others throughout the country who are expected to coöperate in the campaign. The membership of this committee, set up as a permanent group to work with the National Municipal League in this undertaking, is as follows:

H. Albert Ascher, R. W. Pressprich & Co.; Philip A. Benson, President, Dime Savings Bank of Brooklyn; Herbert F. Boynton, F. S. Moseley & Co.; Eugene I. Cowell, The First of Boston Corporation; E. F. Dunstan, Chairman, Municipal Securities Committee, Investment Bankers Association of America; Lewis Gawtry, President, Bank for Savings in the City of New York; George C. Hannahs, Hannahs, Ballin and Lee; Henry Hart, First of Michigan Corporation, Detroit; Darwin R. James, President, East River Savings Bank; Orrin C. Lester, Vice-President, Bowery Savings Bank; John S. Linen, Second Vice-President, Chase National Bank; Frank H. Morse, Lehman Bros.; Ferris S. Moulton, R. H. Moulton & Co., San Francisco; Carl H. Pforzheimer, Carl H. Pforzheimer & Co.; A. W. Phelps, Phelps, Fenn & Co.; Archibald Richards, Estabrook & Co.; D. T. Richardson, Kelley, Richardson & Co., Chicago; F. Kenneth Stephenson, Stone & Webster and Blodget, Inc., President, Municipal Bond Club of New York; J. P. Ripley, Executive Vice-President, The City Company of New York; Charles J. Waldman, Kean, Taylor & Co.; David M. Wood, Thomson, Wood & Hoffman; and Sanders Shanks, Jr., The Bond Buyer, *Secretary*.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*.

"An Opportunity— As Great as in Washington"

(from an address by Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States, to his neighbors at Poughkeepsie, New York, August 27, 1933)

THE greater part of government, as it affects your daily lives and mine, is your local government.

The opportunity in this field of local government for improvement, for a betterment that will be felt in your lives, is just as great as it is in Washington.

When I was governor of the state for four years I used to do a good deal of talking about local government, and just as long as I live, whether I am in Washington or Dutchess County, I am afraid I cannot get over the habit.

I used to tell people that we have in this state more than 13,000 local units of government. You were all interested but I did not notice that you did anything about it.

I used to tell when I was governor about the fact that there were over 950 highway departments in the state of New York. You were interested but I did not notice that you did much about it.

I talked to you about the six or eight layers of government that you lived under, federal, state, county and town, electric light district, and fire department district, etc.—even sidewalk district, and I don't know how many other kinds of districts—and you were paying taxes in all of them. You know that and so do I.

But we haven't done much yet along that line. We haven't done much to reorganize in our local government—what you and I know to be an outworn system built up in the days of the ox-cart and unchanged in the days of the automobile.

—FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

The Open Sesame to Tax Collection

TAX delinquency continues to be, by and large, the most pressing problem which local governments have before them. If money is not forthcoming from taxpayers, then school teachers cannot be paid, police and fire protection must be curtailed, and other essential services discontinued.

One of the curious phases of the situation is the spottiness of the delinquency. Delinquency is most apparent, as is to be anticipated, in the regions hit hardest by the depression. But listen to this:

"We have no tax delinquency in our state," declares confident Finance Commissioner Long of Massachusetts.

"We are collecting 98 per cent of our taxes," reports Research Director Goodrich of Providence, R. I.

"Ninety-four per cent of our outstanding taxes are in," smiles City Manager Dykstra of Cincinnati, Ohio.

What is the secret? Does the state of Massachusetts possess a magnet of strange powers which draws from the pocket of the unsuspecting citizen the amount of his tax bill whether he will or no? Does the city manager of Cincinnati chant over a slow fire strange words of some magic incantation that throws a spell over the citizens of that Ohio city?

No? Yet effects do not occur without causes unless the world is changing more rapidly than we have been led to suspect. What, then, is the key to the mystery?

"We arrest people who do not pay their taxes," blandly continues Commissioner Long of Massachusetts. "We don't, of course, have to put very many in jail. The threat is usually sufficient."

"We have efficient tax collection methods. We make it easy for citizens of Cincinnati to pay their taxes. Furthermore, citizens of Cincinnati know they are getting their money's worth

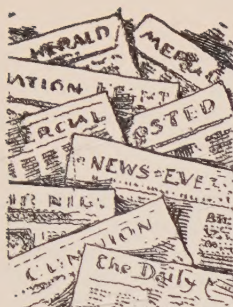
from their local government." Dykstra speaking.

"Prompt sale of property for taxes in Providence keeps collections high," Researcher Goodrich finds.

Through the door of their remarks marches comprehension. Citizens will pay their taxes if penalties are imposed sufficiently severe so as to make them willing to undergo some sacrifice to do so. Citizens will pay their taxes if the pressure of public opinion is in that direction; citizens will pay their taxes if the way is made easy for them to pay and hard for them if they do not. All this, of course, assumes their ability to pay. It assumes reasonable coöperation from the banks in lending money to individuals to pay their taxes. It assumes public officials willing to go to the same trouble to collect taxes that private business would to collect its bills.

The experience of Cook County is enlightening. Under a new statute commonly called the Skarda Act it is provided that when any tax is six months in arrears the county tax collector may apply to the courts to have himself appointed receiver for the property. As receiver he may apply income from the property to the payment of taxes. In the first three months that the statute has been in operation nearly twenty-nine million dollars has been collected in delinquent taxes.

If tax collections are bad in your city, stir up the public officials responsible for tax collection. If they won't or can't do more than they are doing, get a citizens' council busy on the job. If the public officials won't do it, and the citizens of a community won't do it, then deterioration of public services and default on obligations are the ugly shapes that obtrude in the offing. Neither one can a community afford to face. Action in time will prevent a chronic case of municipal headache.



HEADLINES

Consolidation of the seventeen governmental units operating in Milwaukee County is urged by the Citizens' Bureau there. Milwaukee is a compact metropolitan unit. But peanut politics, local tradition, and the even greater difficulty of lower tax rates existing in the suburbs must be hurdled before theory may become reality.

* * *

Voters of two Wisconsin counties—Buffalo and Pepin—were denied by gubernatorial veto the right to determine whether their counties should consolidate. Majority approval in both counties was required under the terms of the enabling act which passed the legislature but was turned down by the governor who admitted, however, that he approved the "principle" of the bill. Apparently, this time, principle knelt before expediency.

* * *

Yet the same governor signed a bill permitting adjoining towns to consolidate if approved by the voters after petitions have been presented and signed by the owners of two-thirds of the taxable property.

* * *

Nevertheless, county government is making strides forward these days. The latest comes from Santa Clara County, California, where a new charter will be drafted shortly.

* * *

Encouraging and significant, too, is the sight of the state treasurer of Pennsylvania appearing before the annual convention of the State Association of Court Commissioners and advocating abolition of township government and consolidation of counties.

* * *

After a month in special session, the New York legislature has given the right to New York City to levy its own special taxes for unemployment relief, non-residents being granted protection under the statute.

* * *

A bill providing for centralized purchasing for New York City was also passed by the same legislature. Russell Forbes estimated recently after a thorough survey of the present buying methods of the metropolis that centralized purchasing should save the city more than five million dollars a year.

* * *

The city manager plan is beginning to take hold more rapidly than at any time during the depression now that citizens are beginning to appreciate the real meaning of "constructive economy." More money is probably wasted as a result of antiquated governmental machinery than through any other source in local administration. The following nine cities and towns will vote this month on a change to the manager plan: Ellsworth, Rockland, South Portland, and Washburn, Maine; Cliffside Park, Fort Lee, Garfield, and Westwood, New Jersey; and Beacon, New York. Petitions calling for elections on the manager plan are being circulated in several other cities.

Reducing the Welfare Budget¹

Improvement in administrative methods will save some money but *prevention* is the real answer

RICHARD BOECKEL
LEWIS MERIAM
FRANK BANE

*Director, Editorial Research Reports
Brookings Institution
Director, American Public Welfare Association*

MR. BOECKEL: Gentlemen, like many other private citizens, I am deeply concerned over the mounting public expenditures for welfare and relief. I am concerned as a taxpayer about what these expenditures are doing to my tax bills. I am more deeply concerned as a citizen over what these expenditures may be doing to my fellow citizens.

In my mind there are several broad questions to which you may be able to give the answers. As a taxpayer, I want to know whether the money we spend for public welfare is economically spent—whether it goes as far as it should, whether we could not get the same amount of service for less. As a citizen I want to know, whether through these expenditures we are not pauperizing a large group of our people, destroying their initiative and self-reliance. And—what is more important—I want to know whether our civilization cannot be developed in such a way as to remove the causes of distress, instead of piling out money to alleviate distress after it has arisen.

Mr. Bane, what activities and functions of government are usually in-

cluded in what we call the public welfare budget.

MR. BANE: Mr. Boeckel, all those activities of government having to do with the care of the mentally ill and defective, the care and custody of the criminal and the care of the destitute and the dependent are generally denominated welfare functions. They include the maintenance and operation of hospitals for the insane, training schools for the feeble-minded, prisons and reformatories for the criminal, industrial and training schools for the delinquent and dependent child, institutions for the dependent and the operation of a broad social program designed not only to relieve the destitute in their own homes but to develop social practices which will tend to prevent and curtail mental illness and defect—crime, and destitution. In addition, welfare departments are concerned with the development of a broad child-welfare program which will, in so far as possible, insure for every child the benefits of home life, of health protection and suitable education.

MR. MERIAM: A large part of the welfare expenditures of the federal, state and local governments now goes for the maintenance of institutions and for the relief of the destitute in their own homes, does it not, Mr. Bane?

MR. BANE: Yes.

MR. BOECKEL: Then, in order to re-

¹This and the following articles in this issue are part of the radio series on constructive economy in government being sponsored by the Committee on Citizens' Councils for Constructive Economy of the National Municipal League.

duce welfare budgets we must do either one of two things. We must reduce the cost of operating these institutions and cut down the allowances to persons helped outside of them, or we must do something to reduce the numbers that are piled into our institutions and the numbers that, because of unemployment or other reasons, are destitute and must be fed, clothed and sheltered at public expense. To be specific, let me ask you, can the cost of operating hospitals and prisons, for instance, be reduced?

MR. BANE: Yes, and there are two ways in which it can be done. Many people in viewing the totals of governmental budgets figure the proposed expenditures against the estimated incomes of the country and then without further to do, and entirely without regard to the governmental service demanded and rendered, jump at a conclusion that it would be very easy and entirely beneficial to cut a large slice out of the budget. This is a mistake.

The cost of operating hospitals and prisons can be reduced immediately by reducing the quantity and quality of the service—this is the destructive method.

Administrative methods in many instances can be changed, coördination can be effected and personnel improved—this is the constructive route to economy.

MR. MERIAM: Suppose you elaborate on the two methods you suggest.

SORRY, THE HOSPITAL IS FULL

MR. BANE: Well, it is possible to reduce the cost of care for the mentally or physically sick by merely refusing to accept and provide for additional patients and further reduction can be made by shortening the food allowance of the patients in the hospital or by curtailing the professional services. Both of these methods have been tried in several places and they do save some money

now, if one cares to approve the method.

Then the cost of care and detention of the criminal can be reduced by turning him out. To some extent this has been done recently in one state. For the sake of economy, according to its proponent, a statute was recently enacted by the legislature of a certain state reducing by half the term of all prisoners committed to the state penitentiary in case their behavior is good. This will reduce costs. A man can be fed for five years for approximately half of the ten year cost. It naturally follows, of course, that more could be saved, if he were not detained at all.

The cost of internal administration of a prison falls largely under the classifications of food and personnel. It is entirely possible to reduce either or both of these items. Numerous incidents in recent years prompt one, however, seriously to question the advisability of drastic cuts of this type. Educational, vocational and medical facilities can be curtailed or eliminated and small savings made.

There is another way prison costs may be reduced. All able-bodied convicts can be required to work and produce goods to be consumed by the state, thereby to a considerable extent offsetting the cost of their care with a resultant saving in public expenditure. This method is not so popular with many people who are otherwise belligerently interested in economy. A case in point. The United States government has a military post in a certain state. Not far from it is a federal prison. In the interest of economy, the prison installed a large bakery and orders went out for the military post to secure its bread from the prison's bakery. From the private bakeries that had been supplying bread to the military post immediately came violent protests, demands that congressmen and senators do something about it, and an effort to exert pressure upon the commissioner

of prisons to discontinue the operation. The objections so often raised in Congress and other places to the use of state convicts, who must be supported by the state, in the building of state roads, a pure state use project, is too well-known to require further discussion.

MR. BOECKEL: But, Mr. Bane, the simple facts are, from the point of view of the citizen—public revenues have declined and at the same time I understand the numbers committed to hospitals and prisons have rapidly increased—you mention a constructive approach—what is it?

MR. BANE: In recent years the Brookings Institution has been confronted with just the dilemma which you indicate in its studies of the organization and operation of a number of state governments. Mr. Meriam has participated in some of these studies and constructive methods for reduction in welfare costs have been suggested. What about that, Meriam?

PREVENTION BETTER THAN CURE

MR. MERIAM: We have repeatedly pointed out that the cost of care and treatment of the mentally and physically ill can be curtailed by the inauguration of sound mental hygiene and public health programs.

A state welfare commissioner recently pointed out that commitments to the hospitals for the insane in his state had increased 44 per cent in the last five years. Again, he insisted, as he had been insisting for years, that the road to economy is prevention. Mental hygiene clinics that would locate and treat mental or nervous disorders in their incipiency, coupled with social service divisions in state hospitals, would on the one hand reduce the intake of these hospitals and on the other would shorten the stay of many patients in the institutions. What is equally important, such a program would tend to develop in the public generally a sane

conception of so-called insanity. Our attitude toward insanity could, perhaps, be made scientific, in much the same way that public health officials have revolutionized our thinking about tuberculosis within the past quarter of a century; and becoming scientific it would lend itself far more readily to a broad and effective program of prevention, treatment and cure.

MR. BOECKEL: And what about the cost of crime, particularly the immediate cost of the care and custody of the criminal?

MR. MERIAM: The cost of the care and detention of the criminal is inseparably connected with our criminal laws and their administration. If economy is to be had in this field our methods in dealing with criminals must be overhauled. This reform is nothing new, it has been urged for years. A few years ago the celebrated Wickersham Commission submitted an able report on just this subject but it had little effect. It was smothered in the aroma of beer and whiskey.

WHAT ROOSEVELT FOUND

It has been urged and demonstrated that probation and parole effectively administered not only curtail crime but save money. Let me quote from the President of the United States, while he was governor of New York. He said, "Until 1930 the state of New York had no adequate parole system. It spent a meager sum and the parole work of the state was supplemented by private endeavor. Four times, between 1920 and 1930, was the parole system investigated. In one report it was described as 'an under-financed moral gesture.' The Wickersham Commission describes the new parole system in New York State as the 'most comprehensive plan for a state parole department devised at a single stroke by any state in the Union.'"

But what of the cost? Let me re-

sume the quotation: "The cost of this parole work," Mr. Roosevelt said, "is necessarily greater than it was ten years ago, approximately \$380,000. But the expenditure of this additional sum saves the state considerably more. It costs to supervise a parolee \$80 per year; to maintain him in prison would cost \$450. So you see the state saves \$370 annually for each prisoner placed on parole. As there are 7,000 of these in New York, the annual saving exceeds two and a half million for maintenance alone. To build new prisons to house these 7,000 parolees would cost another twenty to twenty-five millions at least."

Constructive economy in this field is going to require constructive thinking. Throw the rascal in jail is extremely simple; it is also extremely expensive.

MR. BOECKEL: Quite! Your contention then, Mr. Meriam, and the contention of the Brookings Institution, is that the best way to reduce the cost of the care of those, who for one reason or another are let us say incapacitated, is to reduce the supply and to remedy some of the conditions which contribute to their incapacitation.

For years I have been impressed with the amounts, the very large amounts, expended from public funds for the care of defective, dependent and delinquent people as contrasted with the seemingly small amounts expended for prevention of those scourges that have for so long afflicted mankind.

If we are to get constructive economy in the handling of these problems, it is clear from what you say they must be attacked upon many fronts; we must protect and safeguard the public health, we must preserve and develop family life, we must improve and elaborate our educational methods, we must stimulate and vitalize our community life and we must so order and operate our economic system as to guarantee to everyone a reasonable opportunity to earn a living

and to insure a reasonable security in old age.

HELPING THE MILLIONS ON RELIEF

That brings me to a question that is of the utmost concern to me and to every other citizen of this country. It has recently been estimated that there are about 4,000,000 families in America who are at present receiving aid from one governmental agency or another—that the cost last year of supplying this aid was nearly one billion dollars. The financial problem involved is important; but of far greater importance is the broad social problem: what are we doing to these people—from one-fifth to one-sixth of our population? What is going to be the effect upon them of this long continued depression, with its destitution and want? Will our present policies and methods of giving relief preserve their morale or will they serve to pauperize and demoralize a large part of the present generation? This, it seems to me, is the most important question today in the entire welfare field—and it involves not only welfare costs today but most important, welfare costs in the future. Will you answer that, Mr. Bane?

MR. BANE: Without a doubt the situation with which we are now confronted is dangerous—it is dangerous to have millions of men and women out of employment—it is dangerous and costly to provide relief for those in need but it is even more costly and more dangerous not to provide properly for this large class. Here more than anywhere else, perhaps, do we need clear thinking, careful planning and efficient administration. We are at this moment in the court of last resort in the handling of the problem of relief. In our efforts to meet the needs we have progressed from emphasis on the duty of private philanthropy, to local responsibility, to some state participation, to loans from the federal government, and

now to direct federal assistance. There is nowhere else to go, we must make our present plans work, for the good of the destitute and for the good of all of us.

These costs cannot be reduced much now. The only constructive method of immediate reduction is to revive industry, develop public works and put men to work on jobs at decent wages, and while this is being done much money will have to be expended for relief—our common conscience is going to demand it. We can, however, reduce the ultimate cost and lay the groundwork now for a material reduction in welfare budgets in the years to come by providing for the destitute adequately and in such a manner as not to set them aside from the rest of the community in which they have once worked and lived and where they must live again.

The easiest way to pauperize millions of unfortunate citizens is to provide for them on a mere sustenance, disaster or famine basis—the shortest cut to welfare reductions a few years hence is adequate relief and effective administration now.

These are the “business principles” now being applied by the Federal Relief Administration and promulgated in their recently issued Rules and Regulations. They are the sane, conservative and intelligent “business principles” which take thought for tomorrow and not the wild, erratic and hysterical “business principles” that are largely responsible for our condition today.

THE BUSINESS OF GIVING AWAY MONEY

MR. BOECKEL: Mr. Bane, you say that sound business principles are being applied by the Federal Relief Administration. I have not heard much criticism of the federal work, but I think there has been a good deal of question regarding the business principles in local relief work both public and private. A good many people think that too much

of the money available for relief is paid out in salaries to the employees of the public and private agencies that are administering relief funds. These people think that the costs of relief could be materially reduced by cutting out these salaried employees. They want all the money to go for relief and little or none of it to go for administration. I guess you are thoroughly familiar with that argument, Mr. Bane.

MR. BANE: Yes, Mr. Boeckel. It is an old, old acquaintance.

MR. BOECKEL: What is your answer? I am asking in an effort to represent the many who hold that point of view.

MR. BANE: Well, Mr. Boeckel, I should not want to put barrels of relief money on the street corners and invite persons who regarded themselves as in need to help themselves and decide for themselves how much they should take. I should not advise the federal government to open wide the doors of its treasury and tell the governors of the states to step up and help themselves according to what they regarded as the needs of their states. In dealing with individual cases some reliable, competent, qualified person, responsible to the public relief agency, must determine the necessity for relief, the amount of relief to be given and the best form of relief. That person must see that everything is done that can be done to remedy the conditions that make any relief necessary. When local governments call upon state governments, the state must investigate to determine the need for relief, the amount required, the best form to be used, and what can be done to remedy conditions. The federal government has to do exactly the same thing when the states come to it for help. All along the line relief administrators confront the task of raising the funds necessary for relief which is a major administrative problem. Where money, especially public money, passes

from one person to another, or from one government to another, it is absolutely necessary that there be accurate accounting. All this work means not only handling a great mass of fairly minute detail but much broad constructive planning and social statesmanship. Good administration costs money to be sure but it saves far more than it costs. In the absence of good administration thousands upon thousands of dollars would be wasted and many people in need would not get the help they require. In many cases what people need is not so much relief money as help in making adjustments so that they can take care of themselves.

MR. BOECKEL: Mr. Bane, I thoroughly agree with you that public welfare administration calls for reliable, competent employees, trained professional workers, stenographers, bookkeepers and accountants, and expert administrators. But Mr. Bane, are we getting them? Are not a lot of the employees in the public welfare departments political appointees who are put on the payrolls to draw the salaries? Don't they waste a lot of money that should be saved or go for real relief?

MR. BANE: I'll pass that one on to Mr. Meriam; he has given a lot of study to public personnel administration.

THE SPOILS SYSTEM IN RELIEF WORK

MR. MERIAM: Boeckel, I can't give you a yes or no answer to that question. It depends on the state, or in some cases on the community within a state. Some states and a good many municipalities operate on the merit system and have reasonably competent employees all along the line. Others, even without a merit system have good employees but then there are some where the spoils system still prevails and where public money is wasted by incompetent, untrained employees appointed to draw the salaries. The Federal Relief Administration must necessarily take a

firm hand, and is taking it, in dealing with these backward states and municipalities for there is no reason why the federal government should put up relief funds to be wasted by incompetent local political employees. I think we can safely say that we are on the road to good administration and that those who want economy in government must demand good personnel in public officers.

May I generalize a bit. All of us who discuss economy in government must constantly keep in mind that there are two kinds of economy, destructive and constructive. Some people, thrown into a panic by increasing public expenditures and diminishing public revenues, go after government institutions and agencies with an axe, slashing blindly with little thought as to the immediate results and no thought at all as to the long time results. Everything they succeed in slashing off represents that much gain. More conservative people appreciate that such blind slashing results in crippling or destroying services that are indispensable to the welfare and safety of the people, in cutting down valuable trees that it has taken years to grow and that it will take years to replace. Conservative people fear the blind, panicky use of the axe; they advocate the calm, intelligent use of the pruning shears. They know that some parts of our government are overgrown and contain dead wood. All that overgrowth and dead wood they want cut down, but they want the cutting done with consideration for the future efficiency of government. The panicky group thinks mainly in the terms of the lump sum cost of government. The more constructive group thinks in terms of the distinct services rendered by government to the people. They consider the economic and social value of those distinct governmental services to the community, and they measure the cost of those

(Continued on Page 444)

What Will We Do With Our Time?

Use of leisure to be chief problem of New Deal, editor believes, and more money will have to be spent for public recreation

JOHN H. FINLEY

Associate Editor, New York Times

SO FAR as I know I was the first person in America specifically to urge—as I did in an address twenty years ago—that one of the aims of education should be the preparation for the best use of leisure time. I discovered after I had reached this conclusion that Aristotle had said the same thing over two thousand years ago. Indeed he made training for leisure the chief end of education. But he was thinking of the small leisure class and not of the many as we are today. I am now ready to say that the use of free time will become the chief social problem when the whole nation has been put to work for a shorter day and week. And it will be a much more difficult task of society to get people to use their free time wisely than to labor efficiently.

Civilization began when the pure individualists of pre-historic ages (in the long and tedious leisure between the times of spasmodic labor) practiced their crude creative arts. Then there developed a leisure class and a working class, one-fourth having all the leisure, as in Greece, and three-fourths all the labor. Then everybody was set to work. But hardly was that done when it began to be seen how fatal it was to human development that everybody should work all the time, and the hours of work were restricted: first for children (that they might grow and learn the fundamental lessons of the race), then for women and lastly for men as well.

And now civilization is entering upon a new day with a longer afternoon of leisure. I say afternoon for I am remembering Owen Young's mother's definition of unemployment and leisure: "It is the worst thing in the world to have a man sitting around the kitchen stove after breakfast. It is the nicest thing to have him come home early in the afternoon."

AN INTERESTING COINCIDENCE

It is a coincidence which others must have noticed that the National Recovery Administration and the National Recreation Association have the same initials. They are both N. R. A. movements in that they both have a national construction and reconstruction purpose—the one an economic recovery primarily, the other a personal developing or recovering of strength and of spirit. The second has a very definite and sequential relationship to the first. The National Recovery Act will shorten for millions the work period in the day and week. The National Recreation Association seeks to make possible the most beneficial use of the longer periods of leisure which the codes have suddenly provided. Having been devoting itself for a quarter of a century to this very problem of making joyous, creative and especially recreative use of leisure time for whole communities, it is prepared to be of service in this new era of man's freedom, due to his enlarged

free time. He may have lost some of his freedom in his hours of work. He has added to his freedom in his hours of leisure. In the planning for this new time—this “New Deal” as it is called—there should be every possible budget economy but it must be remembered that because of this very marked increase in leisure there will be the greater need of both educational and recreational services in every community of the land.

RECREATION AND CRIME PREVENTION

I have been asked to speak especially about the part that recreation has or may have in crime prevention. But I would rather speak of the positive side of recreation that in its compelling interest would in itself reduce the delinquency budgets. The total estimated cost of crime in the United States is upwards of \$350,000,000; in New York City alone over \$50,000,000, a per capita of \$7.76, while the cost of organized recreation in parks, playgrounds and school centers is only 22 cents per capita. The best way to reduce the total combined budgets of recreation and crime is to increase the provision for recreation. It will show itself in more than a commensurate cutting down of the crime budget. This is demonstrable. I regret that I have not the time to give supporting figures.

I turn again to stress the importance of saving to the good of the individual and society those hours of free time suddenly added to the calendar of millions—of making them more beneficent hours than they were as work hours.

I was brought up on a Sunday school song which began “Work, for the night is coming.” It seems now, by reason of restricted hours of labor and the agonizing extent of unemployment, quite out of date. What we need to buoy our hearts is a song for the hours that can no longer be filled with work—the hours of free or compelled leisure

—but should none the less be used to make life as abundant, happy, and useful as it was for those who sang a half century ago with ardor the song of work which enjoined us to “work thru’ the morning hours; to work while the dew is sparkling; to work mid springing flowers; to work while the day grows brighter, to work through the sunny noon; to fill brightest hours with labor, to give every flying minute something to keep in store; to work under the sunset skies, to work while the last beam fades, fades to shine no more; and even to work, while night is darkening, when man’s work is o’er.”

A SUBSTITUTE FOR WORK

It was a joyous song whose only sad line was “when man’s work is o’er.” The sad experience of the last few years is that millions have had no opportunity to “fill brightest hours with labor.”

Substitute for the word “work” one which suggests the fullest active enjoyment of the hours which have been released for one’s free use and you have a song for a new day and for the “New Deal,” as it is called. I should use the word “play” if it still kept its original meaning, which was to “occupy one’s self busily about a thing or person,” to “cultivate,” to “exercise one’s self habitually in an action,” to “rejoice” and “be glad.”

But “play” is not quite comprehensive enough in its usual definition, though heaven knows, we need even play, just play for thousands of children who can have it only at their peril in city streets. But the word recreation is broad enough to include “play” in its every expression and also many activities that are usually not thought of as play—music, the drama, the crafts, every free activity and especially creative activity for the enrichment of life.

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Play and Keep Mentally Well

High cost of institutions for mental disease can be saved through prevention by recreation

H. EDMUND BULLIS

*Executive Officer, National Committee
on Mental Hygiene*

TODAY in the hospitals of the United States there are more patients suffering from mental diseases than from all other diseases combined. In 1930, according to the last annual enumeration of the Federal Census Bureau, there were nearly 400,000 patients under care in our state mental hospitals alone, at a total cost to our taxpayers of about \$250,000.

COST OF MENTAL DISEASE

New York spent almost \$45,000,000 in 1931 on maintenance of patients in institutions for mental disease. During the same year Massachusetts spent nineteen cents of every state tax dollar on the care of the mentally deranged.

About 75,000 new cases are admitted every year. At this rate, allowing for deaths and discharges, the population of our mental hospitals is increasing by about 10,000 a year. A recent study of mental-disease expectancy in New York State showed that one person out of every twenty-two becomes a patient in a mental hospital sometime during his or her lifetime.

PREVENTION THE BEST CURE

These figures will give you some idea of the staggering burden of mental disease in the United States at the present time. While the recovery rates in mental hospitals are steadily increasing, thanks to improved methods of

treatment and to the stimulus of the mental hygiene movement, our greatest hope of reducing the tremendous expenditures for the mentally sick lies in prevention.

For the past twenty years the energies of The National Committee for Mental Hygiene and its affiliated state and local organizations have been increasingly devoted to the development of mental hygiene activities in colleges, schools, clinics, courts, and at other points in the community strategic from the standpoint of prevention. Our prospects for the reduction and control of mental disorders depend ultimately upon the building up of an adequate community organization and the encouragement and support of medical, educational, social, and other community measures favorable to the creation of a mentally healthful environment.

Among these none is more important than those which have to do with the development of recreational and other resources of the community that serve the leisure-time needs of our people and contribute to the preservation of their physical health. A sound mind in a sound body is still a good adage.

A COMPLEX PROBLEM

Unfortunately, the prevention of mental illness is not as simple as the prevention of typhoid, tuberculosis or diphtheria. Our problem is more com-

plex. We know the kinds of backgrounds—such as family situations, troubled states of mind, mental conflicts, and painful life experiences that so often lead to one form or another of insanity and the lesser forms of mental disorder. The removal of such causative factors, however, requires a complicated method of procedure and individualized study and treatment in every case.

We cannot offer a mental-health blueprint of rules and directions comparable to vaccination and other protective devices such as are employed in the general field of public health. We do know, however, that people who are kept well occupied and not unduly subjected to fears and worries, are by that much freer of the threat of mental disease. Occupational therapy has been of enormous value in the treatment of the mentally sick. It is by the same token a powerful preventive of mental and nervous disorders. Recreation—one form of occupational therapy—is a vital factor in personality development, and no community can consider itself adequate that does not make extensive use of the benefits of recreation. It is one of the best prescriptions we can give for those who would safeguard themselves against mental illness.

DEPRESSION'S INFLUENCE

The present economic crisis is exposing thousands of people to the mental hazards of anxiety, fear, insecurity, and the stresses and strains that naturally spring from unemployment and economic distress. Our mental hospitals report a marked increase in new admissions and readmissions during the past year which they ascribe, in part, to depression conditions. Thus, we see that there is great need for communities to concentrate more intelligent thought, more money, and more effort than ever before upon properly planned recreational programs that in the long run

contribute to prevention and stem the tide of increasing insanity.

Food, clothing, and shelter are essential but they are not enough. If the unemployed are to maintain a normal balance, they must have something in addition to what is ordinarily provided by relief agencies. They need opportunities for wholesome emotional outlets; they need substitutes for anti-social behavior tendencies; in short, they need help in restoring a morale which has been in a majority of cases badly shattered.

It is not an easy matter for self-respecting people, who are willing to earn their way, to have to accept relief. They are unhappy and wretched, discouraged and depressed, even when their physical needs are provided for. They are being added to that large class of maladjusted people who feed our mental hospitals.

EFFECTIVE ANTIDOTE

Man does not live by bread alone. The spiritual hunger that comes from lack of something to do is second only to the physical hunger that comes from lack of food. Material relief may prevent starvation but it will not prevent the mental morbidity that so often leads to suicide, anti-social attitudes, discontent, and a general loss of character and morale. Wholesome recreation is an effective antidote to all of this.

During the World War, as an officer with the A. E. F., I had ample opportunity to observe the great morale-building forces of recreation at work among the troops. There was a concerted and organized drive to provide recreation for our soldiers, because it was felt that the emergency required it. A far greater emergency exists today among our unemployed who have not even the consolation of being considered heroes in a great cause.

In the light of these facts it is dis-

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Reducing the Recreation Budget

Further cut in expenditures for recreation would be destructive, not constructive economy, expert insists

ROY SMITH WALLACE

National Recreation Association

THE cost of carrying on public recreation work is not large. The total budgets for about 1,000 cities as reported yearly to the National Recreation Association indicate a total expenditure in 1930, the peak year, of \$38,500,000; and in 1932, of \$28,000,000. Please note that the 1932 expenditures represent a 28 per cent cut from the maximum expenditures attained in 1930.

These expenditures represent a very small proportion of the total budget of the cities of the country. For instance, in New York City, the total expenditure of over \$1,600,000 represents a little over 1-5 or 1 per cent of the total budget of the city for 1932. Large savings in governmental expenditure obviously cannot be made in such insignificantly small budgets.

PER CAPITA COST LOW

Not only is the total cost small, the per capita cost also is low. In New York, the public recreation work of the park departments and of the board of education, including the playgrounds, athletic fields, indoor recreation centers and a rich recreation program and serving in 1932 over 40,000,000 attendants cost only twenty-two cents per capita of population. In other words, for the cost of one admission to the movies, or of a half hour of playing pool, or of a pack or two of cigarettes, the citizens of New York provided for themselves and their children public recrea-

tion, indoor and outdoor, for 365 days of the year. Costs vary, but investigation will prove that public recreation supplies wholesome recreation at a lower per capita cost than can be provided in any other way.

All this does not mean, however, that the recreation budgets of the country should not stand their share of the necessary reductions. Indeed, as I have indicated, they have already suffered a 28 per cent cut.

BUDGETARY CUTS

First as a method of budget reduction have been cuts in salaries which have ranged from 5 to 20 per cent. Then there has been an almost complete elimination of new capital developments, a retardation to some extent replaced by the use of unemployed labor on work-relief projects in the recreation field.

Next we must report staff reductions, chiefly through the failure to enlarge the staff up to the usual size for the extra playground services required in the summer, and then also through dropping various types of special workers. In this respect the situation in recreation is comparable to the situation in education, where special teachers and special supervisors have so largely been eliminated. In the recreation field, special workers in story-telling, handcraft, music, drama, and athletic activities for women and girls

have in many cases been left out entirely.

There has been also some decrease in the amount and cost of the supplies and equipment ordered, that is in the number of baseballs, bats, volley balls, handcraft supplies, etc

Finally there has been, so to speak, a dilution of service by the use of volunteers and of the unemployed to supplement the services of a skeletonized professional staff. This has been accompanied of course by an increase in the number of training institutes and other devices used to increase the competence of these inexperienced workers.

QUANTITY AND QUALITY SUFFER

All of *these* methods of budget reduction have reduced not necessarily the *quantity* of the recreational service offered by the communities but in most cases the *quality* of the work done.

Quantity has suffered also. For instance in 1932 there were reported to the National Recreation Association a total number of 6,990 playgrounds in operation. This is a decrease of nearly 700 from the 7,685 in operation in 1931. There were only 1,629 athletic fields in 1932, contrasted with the 1,834 of 1931; there were 4,161 baseball fields as contrasted with the 4,396 of 1931. On the other hand there were a large number of indoor recreation centers open, namely 2,648 in 1932 as contrasted with 2,536 in 1931. Many of this larger number in 1932 were, however, open for fewer afternoons and evenings per week.

INCREASED NEED FOR SERVICE

It should be borne in mind too that the present depression which has made it so imperative to cut budgets has greatly increased the need for recreational services. Men, women and children have fewer dollars to spend on recreation at the movies, at summer

camps, at vacation resorts, in pleasure touring, etc., and they turn more than ever before to the free public recreational facilities. Furthermore there is a tremendously urgent need on the part of unemployed adults for something worthwhile to do with their enforced leisure. Idleness can be and is thoroughly demoralizing and hundreds of thousands of the unemployed, especially the young adults, have taken advantage of the public recreational facilities to keep up their physical fitness and their morale.

There has been therefore a general increase in the services rendered by the public recreation departments. The playground attendances for instance in 1929 were 159,000,000 as contrasted with 236,000,000 in 1932, an increase of 47 per cent. In the recreation centers in 1929 there were about 24,000,000 attendances whereas in 1932 the attendances numbered 34,000,000, an increase of about 41 per cent. The attendances at the summer playgrounds in 1932 showed an increase *per playground* of 45 per cent over 1931. Attendances at indoor swimming pools *doubled* between 1931 and 1932.

All recreational leaders have reported a very heavy increase, for both the playgrounds and the recreation centers, in the proportion of young adults—mostly unemployed—in attendance at these centers.

PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY

It would seem desirable and important that cuts in recreation budgets, at this time when the need for public provision and the use of public provision are greater than ever before, be made with great care and discrimination. There is a principle of democracy involved, too. In the field of education, in some communities more days and years of schooling are required than in others; but we recognize public respon-

sibility to provide education for all. We have not attained this result in recreation: we recognize the need and we assume the public responsibility, but only partially and inadequately, and therefore unfairly. The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection estimated that at the maximum the present playgrounds can serve only about 5,000,000 children and that there are 27,000,000 more, of school age, for whom playground service, which should be available, does not exist. To suggest further cuts or eliminations in recreation budgets is therefore like suggesting a further amputation for a one-legged man.

While there needs to be in public recreation budgets as in all other budgets careful scrutiny, the elimination of all waste, extravagance, and duplication, and while the recreation budgets should bear and have borne their fair share in the necessary cuts to bring our expenditures within our income, it is not limitation and restriction but rather extension, to meet the normal need not yet adequately served, to accept democratically for all a responsibility now accepted only for a few, and to meet a special emergency need in these times of enforced leisure, that is the real demand.

WHAT WILL WE DO WITH OUR TIME

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And the moral of all that we have said is that some of this provision has to be made by the communities. The individuals cannot do it for themselves. National provision for recreation is an essential corollary of recovery: so now we say with Shakespeare "Come now my Ariel bring a corollary."

PLAY AND KEEP MENTALLY WELL

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heartening to find that instead of extending their recreational facilities at this time, many communities are shortsighted enough to treat recreational expense as a handy item for drastic budgetary curtailment. Regarding recreation as a luxury, they find it easier to reduce these facilities, in some instances even eliminating them entirely, than to practice economy all along the line. To the officials of such communities—and to the people who elect them to office—we leave this parting warning: There is as much wisdom in cutting the recreational budget at this time as there would be in curtailing the work of the health department in the midst of an epidemic of smallpox.

The Judicial House that Jack Built

It's a ramshackle affair and costs untold sums to live in, much of which might be saved

LEON CARROLL MARSHALL

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IT is a curious thing that, notwithstanding our lively interest in the administration of justice, we know almost nothing concerning its cost. This is true even when the word "cost" is taken to mean merely outlays of the taxpayer's money; it is still more true if one includes such unmeasured costs as the lawyers' fees, the disruption of economic life due to delays and uncertainties of the courts, the losses due to preventable crime, or the wasteful use of the time of jurors, witnesses, and officials. We know very little, in any exact terms, concerning the social outlays incurred in ministering to the needs—or at least to the demands—of the blind goddess.

Indeed, so far as I am aware, a study covering even the expenditures of public money for an entire state and for all aspects of the administration of justice has been made¹ for but a single state, Ohio. In this state the total outlay of taxpayers' money for the administration of justice in 1930 ran about \$38,500,000 or \$5.79 per capita.² This was

offset, in part, by receipts of approximately \$6,839,000. About nine-tenths of these receipts flow in from the operations of the courts³—from costs in civil cases, costs and fines in criminal cases, and receipts from enforcement of liquor laws—and most of the remaining one-tenth comes from the sheriffs and their deputies. This annual gross bill of over \$38,000,000, with a net bill of, say, \$33,000,000 for but one of our states is certainly a tidy sum—one worthy of careful administration.

OHIO STUDY SIGNIFICANT

Since Ohio is the only state for which we have exact information, let us examine in more detail this gross expenditure of more than \$38,000,000. Stated in terms of the governments making the expenditures, almost one-half, 44.3 per cent to be exact, is expended by the ninety-two city⁴ governments; over one-third (35.6 per cent) by the eighty-eight county governments; only one-sixth (16.6 per cent) by the state government; and a trifling 3.5 per cent by the 773 villages

¹Reticker and Marshall, *Expenditures of Public Money for the Administration of Justice in Ohio*. (The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933.)

²If carrying charges such as depreciation of properties and interest on investment are added, the figure mounts to \$42,000,000, and if federal outlays for the administration of justice in Ohio are added, the total becomes well above \$44,000,000.

³The courts are about two-thirds self-supporting. The courts of general jurisdiction and the higher courts are something more than one-third (38 per cent) self-supporting; the minor courts—including the municipal courts, the police courts, the mayors courts, and the justices courts—are definitely money makers.

⁴In general, a city in Ohio is an incorporated urban community of at least 5,000 population.

and 1,336 townships, thanks to the fact that administration of justice in these smaller units is conducted almost entirely on a fee basis. In other words, the local governments—the counties, cities, townships, and villages—spend five-sixths of the total. Accordingly, the wise control of expenditures for the administration of justice is, in this state, primarily a local government problem. In view of the well-known inadequacies of American local governments, this fact speaks volumes.

and the attorney-general; and all other items are trifling in comparison. To sum up, if one looks for the large areas of expenditures, he finds them to be the law-enforcing officers, the courts, and the correctional and penal institutions, in the order named.

Of course, the Ohio figures cover but a single state and but a single year. They may not be typical. If they are, they throw much light upon the economical control of these expenditures.

1. For example, as has just been

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY GOVERNMENTS, OF TOTAL EXPENDITURES
FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, OHIO, 1930: FOR ALL
PURPOSES AND SPECIFIED PURPOSES

ITEM OF EXPENDITURE	All Governments (Dollars)	All Governments (Per Cent)	The State	88 Counties	92 Cities	773 Villages	1,336 Town- ships
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	\$38,465,214	100.0	16.6	35.6	44.3	3.4	0.1
DIRECT EXPENDITURES							
Total	32,415,419	100.0	16.0	30.1	49.9	3.9	0.1
Courts	8,035,059	100.0	12.3	70.2	17.4	...	0.1
Legal officers	1,788,989	100.0	8.4	47.0	33.6	9.8	1.2
Corrections	5,837,137	100.0	66.6	23.1	10.3	...	...
Police, marshals, sheriffs	16,570,735	100.0	0.9	10.6	82.0	6.5	...
Miscellaneous	183,499	100.0	3.2	96.8	...	...	...
ALLOCATED EXPENDITURES							
Total	6,049,795	100.0	19.8	64.7	14.4	1.1	...
Buildings and lands	2,685,826	100.0	0.3	88.6	11.1	...	...
Quasi-judicial agencies	1,105,252	100.0	89.9	...	4.1	6.0	...
Service departments	1,254,417	100.0	15.7	68.4	15.9	...	...
Elections	504,300	100.0	...	84.5	15.5	...	...
Interest on debt	500,000	100.0	...	50.0	50.0	...	...

And for what purposes are these more than \$38,000,000 expended in Ohio! The largest amount goes for police, marshals, sheriffs, constables, and prohibition agents. These law-enforcement officers absorb not far from half of the total, 43.1 per cent to be exact. Next come the courts. They take up almost one-fourth of the total (23.7 per cent), if we include under the term "courts" such quasi-judicial bodies as the Public Utilities Commission and the Industrial Commission. A sizeable amount, 15.2 per cent of the total, goes to state and local penal and correctional institutions. The maintenance of buildings accounts for 7 per cent of the total; another 4.7 per cent goes to legal officers, such as prosecuting attorneys, city solicitors,

seen, the items calling for large expenditures are the law-enforcing agencies, the courts, and the correctional system. These, then, are items that will bear close watching.

2. Again, the Ohio figures show that the costs of administering justice are high, both in absolute numbers and per capita, in the populous urban counties where litigation runs to large numbers of cases. Here, obviously, is one type of local government situation that will repay examination.

3. And on the other hand, as among the rural counties, per capita expenditures run high in those of sparse population. The so-called small county is an uneconomical unit in this respect as in so many other respects. This fact

points definitely to a situation that cries for improvement.

LACK OF STANDARDS

4. The really striking thing about the behavior of these expenditures is their violent local variation. If you study the expenditures of the urban centers, you find great diversity. Similarly, wide variations are found among the less populous counties, among the various courts of the same type, among the expenditures for buildings and equipment—in brief, diversity of practice is the characteristic thing, no matter what expenditures you examine. This is, of course, only another way of saying that no real standards have been worked out in such matters; each local government has gone its own way with little centralized control. Administration of justice is thus characterized by a considerable absence of administration, as that word would be used by any business house.

This, indeed, brings us to the crux of the matter. The mechanism for the administration of justice in most of our states is not a device that has been carefully thought out in terms of the needs and the devices of a developing civilization. Like Topsy, it has "just growed." To an original log cabin of pioneer days, there has been tacked on, from time to time, a room here, a porch there, a back stoop yonder, a woodyard, a chicken coop, a shed for an ox-cart, an airplane hangar, and what have you. To add to the confusion, there are usually no passageways from one unit to another. It is, indeed, the house that Jack built and he was Jack-of-all-trades.

This situation exists in the law-enforcing agencies, in the courts, in the correctional system—everywhere. Take as a single example of this confusion the court system of Ohio. At the top is the Supreme Court; below are nine intermediate circuit courts of appeals; then come the common pleas courts—

the courts of general jurisdiction—in the eighty-eight counties. As for special and minor courts, there are these: one insolvency court, eighty-eight probate courts, eighty-seven coroners courts, seventy-nine juvenile courts, thirty-five municipal or police courts in as many cities, mayors courts in the remaining fifty-seven cities and in 773 villages, and 2,200 justices courts in the 1,337 townships. In addition there are such agencies as the Public Utilities Commission, the Industrial Commission, the Commissioner of Health, the Superintendent of Education, and the Superintendent of Insurance, not to mention an indefinite number of boards and officers exercising judicial functions with some type of clearance to the eighty-eight common pleas courts. There is, of course, a system of appeals running through this maze; but, aside from the appellate procedure, one may reasonably think of these more than 3,300 courts as separate and distinct with almost an absence of administrative supervision. It is simply incredible that a politics-ridden congeries of courts like this could be expending money economically. What is true of the courts is true of the other agencies concerned with the administration of justice.

ANTIQUATED METHODS COSTLY

Paradoxically enough, although there can be no adequate defense of the amount of money expended in the administration of justice, it is more than probable that we are not expending as much as we should. The point is that, at great expense, we are wastefully operating, in a civilization that calls for airplanes, a creaking ox-cart followed by a train of supplementary wheelbarrows. Hand-copying of documents by political clerks of courts goes on while adequate probation and parole systems are neglected. The old rituals are mouthed over in a slow-moving court when divorce by consent is really opera-

tive—and without intelligent safeguards or supervision. The local mechanisms suitable to the pioneer days drag along their costly paths while modern business and social problems wait their leisure. If, by quadrupling our present expenditures for the administration of justice, we could secure a "justice" suited to modern times, we should have made a tremendously profitable investment.

What are the things that need to be done to give us our money's worth in the administration of justice?

1. To begin with we need to take stock of the whole system. What, in the light of modern problems and in the light of modern science are our real objectives in the administration of justice? And, after we have become clear on our objectives, what agencies and devices will best enable us to attain these objectives? Everyone knows that modern criminology, and modern civil justice as well, no longer accept many of the objectives that were current when the present system of judicial administration was developing. Everyone knows that modern devices, such as parole, commissions, boards, and specialized courts tend to supplant, in part at least, the older devices. Shall we think the problem through in its fundamentals, retaining the useful elements of the older regime and really coordinating with them the newer devices; or shall we continue to plaster sporadic, unconnected lean-to's on the temple of justice! One method spells economy in the true sense of large results for needed expenditures; the other spells a continuation of indefensible waste.

2. Along with such functional planning of judicial administration there should be, of course, changes in court procedure. True, the importance of this element has become exaggerated in the public mind, thanks to the undue influence of a few spectacular instances of miscarriage of substantial justice

through worship of technicalities. None the less, there is here important work to be done, if justice is to be economically administered.

3. Whether or not we reform our objectives and our procedure, the organization of the court system cries aloud for simplification, for the development of coherence among the parts, and for real integration with the other agencies connected with the administration of justice. As matters are, the astounding thing is not that our courts work expensively but that they work as well as they do—one almost says, that they work at all.

4. This leads naturally to a fourth remark. It is high time that we stopped having an administration of justice that is lacking in administration. It is understandable how a sparsely settled agricultural community came to develop a court system in which each unit was, save for appeals, independent of every other unit; but there is no adequate excuse for a continuance of this regime in an age in which it is an absurdity. Somehow—through judicial councils, or ministries of justice, or other devices—the needed administration must be secured.

5. The need of a more effective administration of justice does not stand alone. We have seen how the bulk of the expenditures for justice are local expenditures and how the local variations are extreme. Improvement of the administration of justice is thus inevitably associated with the improvement of the whole framework of local government. Just as there needs to be a rethinking of the objectives and agencies of the administration of justice, so also there should be a rethinking of the objectives and agencies of local as contrasted with state government. Only as all these problems are treated as one, may we expect to have true economy in the administration of justice.

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Reducing the Cost of Justice

Possibilities for economy in judicial administration of Chicago, Cook County, and Illinois considered

FRANK J. LOESCH

Former President, Chicago Crime Commission

THIS address is limited to considering the possible reduction in the cost of administration, both civil and criminal justice, in the city of Chicago, county of Cook, and state of Illinois.

The conditions there are probably typical of those of all other large centers of population in this country.

What Professor Marshall has just said of the growth and present condition of the court system of Ohio will fairly apply to Illinois as well.

In the one hundred fifteen years of the existence of Illinois no successful effort has been made to co-relate from the standpoint of the people a system of the administration of justice which would combine simplicity in court procedure, with reasonable speed in the final disposition of civil and criminal cases at a minimum of cost to the taxpayers and litigants.

In 1922 an admirable section on the judiciary was included in the draft of a new constitution which was submitted to the voters; but it came to naught because the people refused to adopt the new constitution.

NEW CIVIL PRACTICE ACT

This year the legislature, at the request of the various Bar Associations of the state, adopted a Civil Practice Act to go into effect on January 1, 1934.

If it should be administered liberally in accordance with its terms it will in time simplify procedure, reduce the

costs of litigation, and speed the trial and conclusion of civil cases. It does not apply to criminal cases.

The present constitution was adopted in 1870. In the intervening sixty-three years no material alteration of it has been adopted by the people.

The constitution of 1870 was adapted to an agricultural state which Illinois then was. In that year the population was only slightly over two and one-half millions, while Cook County alone, has nearly four millions.

In 1870 Cook County had a population of about 350,000 or roundly 10 per cent of that of the state. In 1930 Cook County had about 52 per cent of the total population of the state.

The constitution fastens upon Cook County the political, economic, and social conditions of 1870, which have long been outlived, but the county and city can obtain no relief from those limitations which are now unsuited to their present populations and business needs, and to their social or economic problems.

NO LEGISLATIVE RELIEF

As Cook County cannot legislate for itself; as the present constitution requires uniformity of all legislation affecting the counties and cities of the state, and the legislature cannot, and in some matters refuses, to give relief to Cook County, special to itself, that county and Chicago with four millions

of souls therefore find themselves limited to legislation suitable to the small counties of the state such as Brown, Harding, Pope, and others, none of which has a population exceeding eight thousand.

From that cause of inability to get legislation peculiar to their needs, spring many of the evils which afflict Chicago and Cook County, and are now without remedy.

From the foregoing named conditions proceed much of the costliness of justice, and its delay in Cook County.

That county has a Circuit Court with twenty judges; a Superior Court with twenty-eight judges; the two courts having original jurisdiction in all civil cases. There is a County Court with one judge and several assistants; and a Probate Court with one judge and several assistants. Chicago has a Municipal Court with a chief justice and thirty-six judges. All the judges of the Circuit, Superior, and Municipal Courts are elected for six-year terms; the county and probate judges are elected for four-year terms. In the smaller cities outside of Chicago, within the borders of Cook County, there are a number of city courts each having one judge and a clerk.

The judges of the Criminal Court of Cook County are designated to sit in that court from the judges of the Circuit and Superior Court by an executive committee of each of those courts. The nine judges of the Appellate Court of the first district are designated by the Supreme Court of the state from the judges of the Circuit and Superior Court.

The clerks for each of the Circuit, Superior, Appellate, Criminal, County, and Probate Courts are elected by the voters of the county. The clerk of the Municipal Court and the chief bailiff are elected by the voters of Chicago only. The sheriff of the county is elected for a four-year term. The

sheriff is not only a peace officer but by his deputies the process server for all the courts, except the Municipal Court. The chief bailiff of that court by his assistants is the process server for that court.

The mere enumeration of these courts with their officers is some evidence of the confusion in the public mind as to their several jurisdictions, the number of their functionaries, and the expense they are to the taxpayer and to the litigant.

THE PUBLIC SUFFERS

The evils of this system of a multiplicity of courts are numerous:

1. It is costly to the taxpayer to elect so many different court officials.

2. It needlessly increases the number of candidates for the various officers at the primary election, and subjects voters at all elections to a bombardment of campaign literature, expensive to the candidate to circulate, and of little informative value to the voter.

3. It's apt to make the voters indifferent to all elections and candidates, except in the presidential year.

4. It puts every court official, whether judge, clerk, sheriff, or bailiff into spoils politics. To win an election a candidate feels compelled to seek the support and funds of, and make alliances with the sporting and lawless element and with racial leaders of low morals who sell the votes of their followers for a price, whether for money and place, or for influence in protection for past, present, or future criminal action.

5. The unorganized voter, the citizen who minds his own business, and expects the law to protect him in his calling and in the peace of his home, property, and person, often finds he counts for nothing against the lawbreaker whom he is compelled to prosecute or defend against.

6. It keeps the better element of

citizens from seeking office, and from placing themselves at the disposal of the voter for public service.

7. It leads to costly delay in civil and criminal justice, and frequent miscarriage of justice in civil cases, and the escape of notorious criminals from all punishment for their crimes in many criminal cases.

IS THERE NO REMEDY?

If the voter asks what remedy he can have against this state of things, the answer must be that at the moment he has none.

The politicians are not concerned in limiting the number of officers, or the number of public place holders. On the contrary they are continuously engaged in devising means to increase both and make more new places.

Even if the legislature were minded to aid Cook County to reduce the number of its courts to one, it could not do so because the constitution would invalidate such legislation; but it should be added that for the reasons last given, neither the politicians nor the members of the legislature are concerned to give any such relief to the public.

This situation acutely shows the folly of placing extreme constitutional limitations upon future legislatures, which prevent the latter from enacting needed remedial laws when changed conditions of sixty or more years require it.

It may be further inquired whether the disinterested public has not a remedy in the near future, and if so what it might be.

The answer is that only by reforming the present constitution can there be any effective remedy for the expensive and inefficient administration of justice in Cook County.

The public should concentrate upon and organize to secure that end.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

In that new constitution must be in-

corporated an article which should consolidate all courts in Cook County into one, with branches covering the several activities of all present courts having a chief justice, who should have the power to designate the judges to sit in the several branches.

Only one clerk would be necessary, and he should be appointed by the chief justice or a committee of judges, as is done by the United States Courts.

The sheriff should also be appointed by the court so as to hold him amenable to discipline, or removal by the court, for neglect of duty or corruption in office of himself or assistants. A proper civil service honestly administered under the chief justice should secure and retain competent clerks and assistants to hold their offices during good behavior.

Some form of securing to the judges long terms should be worked out to take them out of the turmoil of electioneering through popular election for their offices. The present method of electing them to office for short terms has dragged them down into ward politics and has placed them under the control of political bosses, who have not at heart the interest of the public, the taxpayer, or the litigant.

TIME FOR ACTION

These facts, which I have stated with regard to Illinois and Cook County, might be repeated for most of the large cities of the United States with a mere change of name. The Cook County situation is not universal. There are some notable exceptions, as in the case of Detroit where criminal jurisdiction has been concentrated in a Recorder's Court. The administration of justice in both urban and rural communities throughout the country is as a rule affected by the same evils which I have described for Chicago, and in most of them the same remedy of basic constitu-

tional revision must be resorted to before any material improvement can be made in present conditions.

The one outstanding fact in this subject of "judicial reform" is that everybody who knows anything about it has been in substantial agreement as to the steps that must be taken, for at least a generation, and that with the exception of a few localities nothing has been done about it. The time has come when something should be done.

THE JUDICIAL HOUSE THAT JACK BUILT

(Continued from Page 426)

6. Finally and most important of all, unless the standards and morale of the bench and the bar assume a high level, all alterations of judicial and governmental machinery will come to precisely naught. A politics-ridden judiciary, a job-holder's concept of court and other local offices, a cheaply professional outlook of the bar—these spell waste, incompetence, and miscarriage of justice. And on the other hand, a socially-minded bench and bar would make any mechanism, however poor, yield good

results. The ideal, of course, is a mechanism well designed to do the work called for by modern society which is then manned by a competent, socially-minded bench and bar. Anything short of this means less efficiency than we have a right to demand.

It is by no means impossible to have an effective, economical administration of justice. If some strong state executive would lead the way, the movement would quickly spread to other states. Such an executive, operating at first within the limits of the existing state constitution, might well start with the government of the sparsely settled counties where such abundant opportunities for improvement exist. Or, conversely, such a movement to improve and coördinate local government, as is now under way in Hamilton County, might be imitated by other urban communities. True, existing state constitutions hamper; legislatures are notoriously loathe to interfere with local political prerequisites; exact information concerning what is and concerning what ought to be is none too plentiful. But even within the existing situation improvement can be worked out. Here and there it is actually happening.



Too Many Governments

Taxpayer is smothering under blankets of government and democracy is in peril, Senator Byrd believes

HARRY F. BYRD

U. S. Senator from Virginia

ARE there too many governments?

There can be but one answer. The layers of government existing in nearly every section of our country are sapping the very lifeblood of the people and unless reformed may ultimately destroy the fundamental principles of our democracy. We have nearly 200,000 governments in the United States counting school districts. Almost everyone has five or more governments over him—federal, state, county, local, and school. Many people have three or four more.

Democracy can only survive if it efficiently furnishes to the people those things in public service necessary to our progress, the protection of life and property, and our happiness.

No wonder our taxation has increased from 8 per cent of our national income in 1913 to 33 per cent in 1932. Governments now support eighteen million of our citizens, or nearly one-sixth of our population. Our overlapping, unnecessary layers of government must be removed or we shall perish.

TAXPAYER SMOTHERING UNDER BLANKETS OF GOVERNMENTS

The core of the trouble is that our governmental organization has failed to keep pace with the functions it is called upon to perform. There are too many governments, and there is too little efficiency. Units of government have mul-

tiplied so that the taxpayer today is blanketed under so many layers of government that he is as bewildered as he is burdened by duplicated and excessive taxation.

President Roosevelt, in his book *Looking Forward*, in setting forth his experiences as governor of New York, counted 13,544 separate, independent units of government in that state, and found that citizens in some communities were blanketed under ten layers of government.

With the federal government, forty-eight state governments, 3,000 counties, thousands of incorporated municipalities and townships, together with drainage districts, school districts, fire districts, sewage districts, lighting districts, road districts, water districts, each with governmental functions and imposing taxes, we have a maze of overlapping and duplicating units that necessarily results in inefficiency and excessive cost.

I have no fault to find with the increasing services of our governments, in response to the demands of modern times, in providing education, good roads, public health safeguards, and many other public benefits. They naturally increase with the progress of civilization and the growing complexity of our social and economic life.

Education, for example, is more expensive and costly as time goes on.

School attendance is made compulsory in many states, and in recent years the number of children in school has increased in much greater proportion than population. The school term is longer, and more subjects are taught than ever before. Nearly seven times as many children went to high school in 1928 as in 1900.

The demand for improved roads, not only the main highways, but from the farms to the markets, has increased by leaps and bounds, so that road construction and maintenance today constitute major activities of our governments and require huge public expenditures.

Public health, care of the indigent and unfortunate, and other public services are growing constantly in importance.

While these increasing public services are desirable and necessary, we are faced with the problem of how to obtain them with the governmental machinery now operating, without breaking the backs of the American taxpayers.

But I do think that if we are to avoid the bankruptcy of confiscatory taxation our governments cannot act as parents to all the people, but must confine their activities to essential services such as law enforcement, education, public health, conservation of natural resources, care of the incapacitated, and the building of roads, and only enter other fields when a great public emergency requires it.

HOW VIRGINIA MET THE PROBLEM

What can be done about it? I have had some experience with the problem as governor of Virginia, and trust that I may be pardoned for referring to some of the things accomplished in that state.

We set about to simplify our state government. In 1927 we took the state's eighty-five administrative agencies, and after abolishing some, consolidated the remainder into twelve departments. Forty-eight agencies had been collecting state revenue and many

of them disbursing part of it. A new accounting system was adopted requiring all state revenue to be paid into the state treasury, and all disbursements made by the state treasurer on a warrant of the state comptroller. The Virginia constitution was completely revised to permit the reorganization of the state government and accomplish numerous reforms. Virginia adopted a short ballot, giving the governor the power to appoint the heads of departments similar to the presidential authority to name the federal cabinet.

Both the state and the localities had previously taxed land and tangible personal property. A law was passed segregating this class of property exclusively for local taxation, leaving intangibles, incomes, and other sources for the state. This has greatly simplified the tax system, and has produced excellent results. Virginia's taxes on land are today the lowest of any state in the Union in proportion to value, and all our taxes are moderate.

A notable advance was made last year when the state, without a cent of new taxation, took over the farm-to-market roads for maintenance and construction. Some five hundred local road district units were abolished, and the local road tax was abolished. The county roads are being greatly improved under state administration, and the secondary as well as the primary road system is now financed entirely by the gasoline tax and motor licenses, enabling a substantial reduction in the local taxes on land and tangible personal property.

ECONOMIES PROMOTING EFFICIENCY

Numerous other reforms have been accomplished in redistributing functions of government with good results. For example, the almshouses have been consolidated in two-thirds of the counties, with considerable savings and better attention to the inmates. A law has been passed permitting counties of the state

to consolidate. If counties do not desire to consolidate outright, then groups of counties can unite in employing the same public officers. This can be done without surrendering the identity of the county and without inconvenience to the people, because good roads, automobiles, telephones, and radios have brought us all very close together.

I mention these reforms in Virginia merely as indicating the line of attack on the problem of increasing efficiency and reducing unnecessary expense.

I believe a great deal can be accomplished in state and local government. First and foremost, we must have a radical readjustment of local government. We must abolish many thousands of units of local government and consolidate thousands of others too small to operate alone. And then much can be accomplished by (a) simplification of the state machinery by the elimination of useless and overlapping bureaus and commissions, and the consolidation of administrative agencies into a few departments whose heads shall be responsible to the chief executive; (b) a budget, which must be kept in balance, and a central accounting office for all revenue and disbursements; (c) a central purchasing agency; (d) the segregation of local and state sources of taxation to avoid duplicated taxation; (e) the transfer to the state of local activities which will least interfere with local government and where increased efficiency and greater economy may be effected. The transfer of local road maintenance to state control in North Carolina and Virginia has produced splendid results.

The accomplishment of these reforms may require a political revolution, but I predict the people will demand them.

HOW NATION AND STATE SHOULD SHARE TAXES

I believe the federal government should coöperate with the states in the simplification of our tax system to avoid duplication of taxes. I am a member of a committee, of which Senator King

of Utah is chairman, to consider this question. Certain classes of taxation should be reserved by the government and others given to the states. The federal tax on gasoline of one and one-half cents per gallon should be promptly repealed and gasoline taxation reserved for the states. The government could well undertake the collection of a uniform gasoline tax to be remitted to the states on a fair basis of the motor cars licensed. This would collect millions of dollars of gasoline taxes now being evaded because of the "bootlegging" of gasoline between states where the state taxes vary, and would enable the gasoline companies to establish uniform gasoline prices.

The federal government could also properly consider a manufacturers' sales tax, eliminating food, clothing, medicine and fuel, and provide for a rebate to the states of a substantial part of the total tax on a basis of the purchasing power of the respective states. These and other things the federal government could fairly do. After all, taxes come out of our pockets just the same, regardless of the governmental unit collecting them.

I am a strong believer in local self government as the bulwark of our political system. But local government must justify itself by efficiency and economy. Conditions of transportation and communication compel a revision of the local machinery which is hampered too frequently by methods of the horse-and-buggy days gone by. The rebuilding of our rural civilization, which is so essential to the full development and happiness of the nation, must be accomplished in great measure by better government in the localities. Every citizen should study and investigate his local government, and demand that it be efficient and economical. When we have removed some of the layers of government and organized the essential activities on an efficient basis, then and then only can we enjoy the benefits of government to which we are entitled at a cost which we can afford.

Bigger and Better Governments Wanted

Much money can be saved taxpayers through increasing size of local units, administrator points out

HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR.

Governor, Farm Credit Administration

ARE there too many governments?

Every taxpayer should be asking this question. If there are too many governments, the taxpayer is paying the cost of the inefficiencies and waste resulting from the excess. And when something affects taxpayers, it affects all of us; for there are few persons who are not paying some kind of a tax now. If the property tax doesn't get you, the income tax, the gasoline tax, the check tax, the telephone tax, or some one of our many taxes does. Therefore, all of us are interested in the question of "over production" of governments.

First of all, how many governments are there? The nation has a government, and the forty-eight states each has one. Then, every state is divided into counties, each of which has a government. The number of counties in a state ranges from three in Delaware to 244 in Texas. The forty-eight states are divided into more than 3,000 counties. Massachusetts, with only fourteen counties, has the fewest counties relative to her population. In the states of northeastern United States, the counties are further divided into townships or towns which are political units. In the other states, townships are usually only geographical units for they seldom provide governmental services. Furthermore, where people are concentrated, incorporated villages and even cities have been organized. All of these units,

the nation, the states, the counties, the towns, the cities and the villages, provide general governmental services. By such is meant the providing of highways, police protection, health protection, courts, aid to dependent citizens and such services of general or widespread interest.

In addition, some governmental units provide specific services. The school district provides education only. The special districts provide special services among which are lighting, fire protection, water, sewage disposal, drainage, and irrigation.

FOURTEEN THOUSAND GOVERNMENTS IN NEW YORK STATE

To impress upon you the number of governments, allow me to tell you the organization of New York, the state with which I am most familiar. In New York, there are fifty-seven counties outside of New York City. Within these fifty-seven counties, there are 932 townships, fifty-nine cities, and 527 incorporated villages. In addition to these, there are approximately 10,000 school districts and nearly 2,500 special districts, most of which are lighting, fire protection, and water districts. Thus, in this one state, there are approximately 14,000 governments each contributing its share to the tax bill. And New York is not exceptional in this matter; other states are as completely

over-organized. The states west of the Mississippi generally do not have the township organization, but they do have more counties. Missouri, with 114 counties, probably has too many such governments.

Our present governmental organization is an inheritance. It was much the same in the eighteenth century as it is today. Methods of transportation and communication, however, have changed. A township organization with its supervisor, town clerk, justices of the peace, constables, assessors, tax collectors, and overseers of the poor, was useful in the eighteenth century. If a crime had been committed, a county sheriff thirty or forty miles away or the state police 100 miles distance could not have been notified in time to be of any service. Today, a state trooper can reach the scene almost as quickly as the local constable. Today, a taxpayer can write a check on his local bank and mail it to the county treasurer for three cents. In earlier days, he had to carry the cash to the collector; therefore, a town collector was very convenient. The township organization was probably necessary in our grandfathers' day. It is not necessary today.

Two miles was a long distance to school in the earlier days, because the children had to walk. Thus, small rural school districts resulted. Today, the school bus takes the farm children to school and these small districts are no longer necessary. We can now have the larger, more efficient districts.

The development of government has been a patchwork affair. We have decided that the sheriff and the constable could not cope with modern criminals with their present means of transportation. We added the state police, but we did not abolish the constables or the sheriff. So, today, in most states, we have constables, sheriffs, and state troopers, all of which overlap in their duties.

At one time, all the highway work was done by the townships in our eastern states. Next, the county took over some of the most important roads, and finally, when highways became a part of the national transportation system, state departments were organized. Again, the smaller highway organizations were not abolished.

Too often, when it has been necessary for a larger unit of government, such as the county or state, to perform a government service previously handled entirely by smaller units, the complete service has not been transferred. A part was left for the smaller unit. This has often resulted in leaving to the smaller unit an amount of work too small to be done efficiently. The township of today is only a skeleton of its once more efficient self.

GOVERNMENT A COÖPERATIVE

What should be our criterion in deciding whether or not we have too many governments? To me, a government provides definite services at a specific cost. In other words, a government is a coöperative association which provides highways, schools, police protection, libraries, health protection, relief to the unfortunate, and other such services. Its members are the citizens of our nation. If, by decreasing the number of units of government, the same quality of services can be provided at a smaller cost, I would say, "We have too many governments." My answer would be the same if the larger units do not reduce the cost of the service but did provide a better service. In many instances, larger units will both decrease the cost and provide a higher quality of service.

Many noteworthy studies are available which show the effect of the size of a governmental unit on the cost of performing various services. Some of these I have found most helpful were made by the Department of Agricultural Economics at Cornell University.

One of the studies shows the effect size of one-teacher school districts on the cost of education per pupil. In 108 schools in which the average daily attendance was six pupils or less, the cost of education was \$274 per pupil. On the other hand, 111 schools had nineteen or more pupils. In these schools the cost was only \$67 per pupil. The cost of education for the 638 districts studied averaged \$110. Thus, if all of the school districts in the six New York counties had been made as efficient as the largest ones, the school tax bill would have been cut by 40 per cent, which would have meant a saving of \$400,000 in these counties. Quality of service was not sacrificed by the larger districts because the teachers employed were better educated and received larger salaries than those in the smaller schools. The large schools also provided better libraries and teaching facilities. Thus this one study has shown that if we are to obtain good education at the lowest cost, we have too many school districts.

Another of the studies deals with township government in New York. Three-fourths of the cost of township government in that state is for highways and one-fourth for the other services, such as protection of persons and property, aid to the needy, health protection, general administration, property assessing and tax collection. The study shows that those towns with the most highway work to do, resulting either from large highway mileage or from more work per mile of highways, did that work most efficiently. The towns with large mileages of highways had more highway machinery and used this machinery to greater advantage. This study indicates that in order to obtain a more efficient and a less expensive upkeep of town highways, the highway systems of several townships should be consolidated or the entire township system of highways transferred to the

county highway systems. Some states are going even further by putting all highway work under the state highway system.

The analysis of the cost of the services other than highways in this same study indicated that the most populous towns had the lowest cost of general government per capita. Thus by consolidating townships or transferring the present functions of the townships to counties, the present services of town government could undoubtedly be obtained at lower costs.

Studies of county government seem to indicate that the consolidation of counties would be to the advantage of the taxpayer. It would reduce the cost of government and his tax bill.

WHY CONSOLIDATION IS DIFFICULT

These studies have shown that we do have too many governments. Why don't we reduce their number? There is considerable opposition to changes. Some of this opposition comes from the present officeholders, who would lose their jobs, and the much more numerous group of would-be officeholders, who expect to run for office sometime. In addition, there is the pride of the local citizen in his township or county. But the greatest opposition results from the inequalities among such units. Because of differences in the taxable wealth over which the cost of government is spread, the tax rate would be increased slightly by consolidation in the wealthy towns, school districts, or counties, while being decreased greatly in the least wealthy ones. Therefore, the wealthier unit would not favor the union. On the other hand, the less populous town, or county will object to consolidation, because its citizens will be the minority on election day. With the loss of its specific representation, the town or county fears the loss of its desired patronage of

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Reducing the Public Health Budget

Expansion rather than reduction needed, experts agree, but if cuts must be made, here is the way to make them.

GEORGE FOLGER CANFIELD

MATTHIAS NICOLL, JR.

KENDALL EMERSON

*Attorney, President, State Charities
Aid Association
Commissioner of Health, Westchester
County, New York
Acting Executive Secretary, American
Public Health Association*

MR. CANFIELD: Dr. Nicoll, I read an editorial yesterday commenting on the need for drastic reduction in governmental expenses. As a taxpayer my heart warmed to the suggestion. I began thinking over the various government services and I had a beautiful time slashing this department, eliminating that, and consolidating others until I came to the health department. There I stuck. You and Dr. Emerson ought to be able to help us out and I want to ask you some questions.

DR. NICOLL: Well, Mr. Canfield, Dr. Emerson has gone pretty deeply into the problem of cutting health budgets from the national point of view and I have had my own problems during the past few months, so we ought to be in shape for a quiz.

MR. CANFIELD: You see the difficulty lies in the fact that, although I have been interested in community health and welfare for many years, I have not yet been able to decide what, if any, activity of health service could be cut out with safety to the people's health. For I have not discovered any of the customary indications of extravagance in administration. Certainly the salaries, even in prosperous times, have been meager enough considering the responsible character of the work. Still, in

the interest of economical government, and as a layman and a taxpayer, I want to ask you this question, "Can I not have health protection for my family and my community at a lower cost than I now pay for it?"

DR. EMERSON: That query certainly brings the topic of discussion right out into the open. In the opinion of the American Public Health Association the question can be answered only by an emphatic negative. Why, in the best of times public health appropriations have never been sufficient to do a really first class job.

PREVENTION SAVES MONEY AND LIVES

MR. CANFIELD: Isn't that rather an arraignment of the health department's work?

DR. EMERSON: Not at all. The fact is that there are well established methods of health protection in the world today which no health department has ever been able to use because it never had the necessary money. Through the application of such methods countless lives could be saved and a vast amount of chronic invalidism avoided. Despite the marvelous advances made in the past fifty years in health protection it is conservatively estimated that one-half of a practising physician's work

is still treating disease which could have been prevented if we had applied the knowledge we now possess.

MR. CANFIELD: But wouldn't the expense of putting into operation any such elaborate methods as you imply be an extravagance which no government could bear, however prosperous?

DR. EMERSON: On the contrary the cost of preventive medicine is never more than a small fraction of the cost to the individual and the community of treating preventable disease, especially if you reckon in the loss in wages while people are ill and the economic loss to society caused by avoidable deaths during the productive years of life.

MR. CANFIELD: From your statement, then, it would seem to follow that it would be a real form of government economy to *raise* health budgets instead of *lowering* them during hard times.

DR. EMERSON: That is a logical and fair deduction but I fear most of our legislators would not be persuaded to see the matter that way. It takes a quicker brain than theirs. You see it's this way. Those who make the public budget are officeholders. Officeholders are for the most part politicians and politicians keep a keen eye on vote-winning measures. Of all government departments I believe it is fair to say that the health department has been kept freest from political intrigue. It is not a productive vote-getting medium. Hence cutting its budget is an agreeable pastime. I believe it is fair to add, however, that in making such cuts the legislators are quite unaware of the risk to the public involved in such procedure.

MR. CANFIELD: But doesn't the public realize how important the health department is?

DR. EMERSON: No, it doesn't. The American public—like all other nationalities, I fancy—greet each innovation

in health or any line of discovery with a blast of publicity, a snowstorm of ticker tape, and a wave of enthusiasm. Then it quickly accepts the novelty as a matter of course, as something to which it is entitled without cost.

WHAT THE PUBLIC EXPECTS

MR. CANFIELD: Yes, that is a very human trait. But suppose I ask you, Dr. Nicoll, to run over briefly some of the things a health department must do to give adequate health protection to a community. Of course there must be some difference between the work needed in a large, crowded city as contrasted with a rural community.

DR. NICOLL: There is a difference in the amount of work needed but the principles are the same. Broadly speaking the health department's objective is to reduce to a minimum the chance that preventable disease or accident will overtake any member of a community. To do this it must have experts who understand the living and working conditions under which people thrive with the least danger to their health and safety. They must have good housing without overcrowding. They must have good air to breathe, pure water to drink, and adequate provision for the disposal of sewage and waste. In addition to providing a healthful environment the public health service must insure to all the people protection against communicable diseases such as tuberculosis, scarlet fever, diphtheria, smallpox, and the venereal diseases. Since all of these are germ diseases they may be spread either through contact with other cases or through food and food handlers. Quarantine and immunization measures must be employed to prevent direct infection, and inspection of food supplies and food handlers, restaurants and so on must be constantly maintained. Especially is this supervision important in the matter of the milk supply, but it is also essential in meat packing plants,

bakeries, truck gardens, oyster beds and the like, including also the transportation of food supplies. The health department must maintain a laboratory with every known means for the early detection of infectious disease. Trained workers must stand always on guard ready to pounce on the first case that appears and put an instant stop to its spread. Without adequate public health control in our crowded civilization epidemics would spread like wildfire and in no time at all we might have a scourge in a large city like New York which would equal in horror the Black Plague of the Middle Ages. That isn't all the health department does, Mr. Canfield, but it will give you an idea of the size of the job.

MR. CANFIELD: It certainly does, Dr. Nicoll. And yet we have been going to and fro about our business, just taking all these things for granted, as we do the schools, the subway, or police and fire protection. And the people don't understand that we can't enjoy such health insurance without paying for it, as you have pointed out, Dr. Emerson.

DR. EMERSON: One reason is that health departments never have been good advertisers. They are too busy. But another reason lies in the fact that health protection is an invisible process. It works behind the scenes. When tax money goes into hospitals, or bridges, or schools, the public can see the results. Appropriations for roads are cheerfully made because we can ride on them, but it is like pulling teeth to get a few cents to fight a microscopic germ which can easily prevent our ever taking that ride.

MR. CANFIELD: But still might it not be possible, Dr. Emerson, to reduce the health department's budget in some way without affecting any of the essential work it is required to do?

FOLLY TO CUT BUDGET

DR. EMERSON: That has already occurred, Mr. Canfield. During the depression health budgets have been cut in varying degrees, but thus far the efficiency of the departments has not been seriously affected. However, the danger point has been reached. If a serious epidemic should arise today in certain localities it is doubtful whether health departments would have adequate means and personnel left to combat it. You can't go on reducing a cow's daily food ration indefinitely and still expect her to give milk. The ingenuity of health officers has brought about certain consolidations in the service which enable more economical operation without loss of efficiency, and certain types of work that contribute more to the comfort than the safety of the public have been eliminated, such as the work of the sanitary and plumbing inspection. We don't like bad smells from uncollected garbage, dirty back yards or plumbing leaks, but after all they affect our aesthetic sense rather more than our health and we can economize there without doing serious harm. But we have done as much cutting along this line as we can. At the present moment the health departments pretty much the country over have their backs to the wall. Health officers know that any further cut in budgets means a direct blow at the safety of the public. This fact has been hammered into the heads of legislators again and again yet even now further reductions are threatened. There are communities in this country today that have a health department only because of the devotion of the doctors and nurses on the staff. Their salaries have been cut so brutally that they might nearly as well be working without pay. I don't know how they manage to live. Do you, Dr. Nicoll?

DR. NICOLL: As Dr. Emerson says, practically every health department

could have used efficiently and economically two, three, or four times as much money as it was given to operate with in boom times. Today we can say six, eight, or ten times as much. Practically all health departments are understaffed, overworked, and underequipped. Yet despite that fact the personnel—the doctors and nurses, of the public health service are probably the most highly trained technically, the most loyal, and the most efficient of any group on the public pay-roll. They are not political opportunists. By far the largest proportion are in it because they love the work. For most of them it is a life of self sacrifice for which the rewards are either meager or non-existent.

MR. CANFIELD: This is most impressive and what you doctors are telling, the people have never even dreamed of. The American Public Health Association is supposed to have its finger on health conditions throughout the country—what is the situation today, Dr. Emerson?

PRESENT SITUATION ALARMING

DR. EMERSON: We have tried to keep in touch with the developments in every part of the country through questionnaires to health officers, from reports of our field workers, from the reports of field workers of organizations affiliated with us, such as the National Tuberculosis Association, and so on. The picture is not a very cheerful one, and in many instances it is actually alarming. Taken as a whole, it is causing us considerable concern because it indicates that the men who control the purse strings of public funds are sadly lacking in a comprehension of what public health protection is and how it is secured. Our reports range from the splendid statement of Governor Lehman, of New York, who declared recently that he had not taken a single cent off the state health department budget and would not do so next year if he could pos-

sibly help it, to the action of the legislature of another state which cut its health budget 62 per cent. In most of our city health departments personnel and pay have been cut to the bone, and, as one prominent mayor said, even that is being scraped.

MR. CANFIELD: Dr. Nicoll, you're the commissioner of what is reputed to be one of the best county health departments in the country. Isn't there anything you can suggest that will help lighten the load of the taxpayer and still give him adequate health protection?

DR. NICOLL: I can in theory, Mr. Canfield, but looking at the situation practically you must remember what Dr. Emerson has told us—that many health departments already have had their budgets cut far below the limit of safety. The standard of safety, or if you wish, the standard of health department appropriations, should be *at least* one dollar per capita annually. Even in good times, however, we spent in this country only about fifty cents per capita for official public health protection. Today, with slashes already made in these budgets, there is precious little left of that fifty cents. If you cut too much you wipe out the health department entirely.

MR. CANFIELD: There certainly doesn't seem to be much margin. But go ahead.

DR. NICOLL: The services of the health department may be roughly divided into two classes. The first includes the minimum essentials. Dr. Emerson can tell you about these—the American Public Health Association has been studying this question very carefully. The second class includes activities which could be reduced, with some loss and inconvenience to the public to be sure, but without grave danger to its health. Among these are the research and educational services of the health department. It is evident that advance in public health practice like everything else depends on constant

study and research. This costs money. It can be postponed during such a period of depression as this though its loss will be felt in the future by retarding the introduction of new protective measures. As you have already seen the public doesn't know nearly what it should of the important work of health departments. One of our duties is to educate the public into a knowledge of its own interests. This can wait though at no small ultimate cost to the public itself. In addition there are minor savings which Dr. Emerson has mentioned in the matter of inspection and the abatement of nuisances to which people have grown accustomed and to which they are entitled even though many of them bear very little on essential health protection.

MR. CANFIELD: That sounds like saving some money, though as you suggest it is likely to prove both a loss and an inconvenience to the public. But what are these essential services, Dr. Emerson, which your Association selected as being so vital?

CERTAIN SERVICES ESSENTIAL

DR. EMERSON: No health department can pretend to serve the minimum needs of any community in this country today unless at least five activities are provided for through permanent trained personnel, and directed by a qualified and experienced health officer. These are:

1. Keeping records of births, deaths, and reportable diseases.
2. Control of communicable diseases, including clinics for the control of tuberculosis and venereal diseases.
3. Sanitary supervision of water, milk, and food supplies.
4. Protection of maternity, infancy, and childhood, including health services for school children.
5. Laboratory diagnosis of communicable diseases, and the bacteriological examination of water and milk.

Furthermore, the American Public Health Association urges that if any cuts in the functions and personnel of a health department are necessary, they should be left to the health officer himself as the person in a community best equipped to decide where reductions can be made with the least hazard to public safety.

MR. CANFIELD: That all sounds reasonable to me. Both of you seem to have given this question considerable thought. However, Dr. Nicoll, does that exhaust the possibilities of saving money?

DR. NICOLL: There is another possibility, but it won't apply to every community because the plan already is in practice in many places—and that is size of the administration unit. We believe in New York State that the most efficient unit for public health administration is the county. President Roosevelt, when he was governor of the state, appointed a committee of experts to study this question. This is what they recommended at the end of their study last year: "That the present system of local health service in the state be reorganized by substituting the county for the town and village as the local unit, with the appointment of a county board of health, and health commissioner in all counties. That the county health district include the whole county; cities being permitted to retain their boards of health and health officers, but that boards of health in towns, villages, and consolidated health districts be abolished." Ex-President Hoover has frequently advocated the establishment of county health units.

MR. CANFIELD: How would that be any improvement over the present system?

CONSTRUCTIVE ECONOMY

DR. NICOLL: As far as taxes are concerned it would mean better health protection for less money. "A county

health department would eliminate present duplication and overlapping of effort. It would make for efficiency by substituting one responsible board for the many town and village boards of health, and for the county nursing committee, county milk inspection committee, county school hygiene committee, and boards of managers of county general hospitals and county laboratories." Furthermore, "new and much needed health activities can be undertaken which are not now carried out, and are not possible under the present system." Naturally this would mean better service for rural areas and villages which now have little in the way of health service except what the state can give them. A county health department would bring to such places the same protection as only the wealthiest cities in each county now have—more effective control of tuberculosis, the venereal diseases, and other communicable diseases; protection of maternity and infancy; safeguarding of public milk and water supplies; more effective public health nursing service, and other elements of a modern public health program.

MR. CANFIELD: You say these things were recommended for New York State. Would you recommend the county health department system for the entire country, Dr. Nicoll?

DR. NICOLL: I should say that the county health unit might well be recommended to all states as an appropriate principle in planning effective health administration. However, there are certain reasonable modifications of the program which apply in special regions. For example, in New England the health district may work outside of county lines since the county in those states, by long custom, does not have the same governmental significance as it does in other states. Again there are some counties, especially in the south and west, which are too small and poor to

support an adequate county health unit. Here a combination of several counties in one unit may be more effective and economical. But the principle remains the same especially in the matter of maintaining a full-time trained staff for the service. As one health worker has put it, "generally speaking it is true that any county which can have a county court house can support a county health department."

MR. CANFIELD: It seems we are all in agreement that the budget of the health department should not be cut if the public is to be protected adequately from disease and epidemics. But there is another side to this question that has to be faced too. It is all very well to say that things should be thus and so, but old John Public pays the bills—and the fact we have to face is that John Public simply hasn't got the money now. With less money to be divided among each government service it either has to be spread thinner so that all may have the same proportion as before, or it should be disbursed according to the greatest need. Which basis is more equitable?

DR. EMERSON: I think every intelligent person will agree that the practice of applying a horizontal cut to every department—that is, impartially reducing each budget by the same per cent—is merely the device of the lazy or ignorant legislator who will not or cannot compare the needs of each department and distribute public funds among them on the basis of importance or necessity. The latter is the only intelligent way to handle this situation, and I believe every taxpayer has the right to insist that his representative take the trouble to do that. Surely every citizen must realize, for example, that during the past few years the department of buildings and construction has had less and less work to do, while the work of the health department has increased enormously.

MR. CANFIELD: There again you two,

as doctors and experts in public health, know more about the situation than I do. Just what effect, Dr. Nicoll, has reduced income had on public health?

HOW DEPRESSION AFFECTS HEALTH

DR. NICOLL: I suppose we who are so close to the situation often forget that other people don't know those things. Well, the first result is that families move to cheaper quarters. When the pinch becomes greater they tend to "double up"—that is, two or three families move into quarters that were built for only a single family. Cheaper quarters are always in the poorer and congested neighborhoods, of course, so the first result is that their sunshine and fresh air are reduced. The second result is that overcrowding makes transmission of disease easier, both from person to person and by way of vermin. Furthermore, when the family budget is reduced the standard of food is reduced too, which usually means less nutrition. So a person's resistance to disease is not only lowered by less food, fresh air, and sunshine, but through overcrowding he is placed in greater danger from infectious disease and is less able to throw off such infection because he is undernourished. On top of these things he is subject to a mental strain that plays an important part in his ability to fight both his circumstances and disease. Many laymen pooh-pooh the importance of worry in such cases, but believe me, it can make all the difference between life and death. In fact the wave of suicide during the depression is one of the results of mental strain that could not be endured any longer.

MR. CANFIELD: How does all this increase the work of the health department?

DR. NICOLL: Clinics get far more work than they can handle.

MR. CANFIELD: How's that?

DR. NICOLL: Why, people who

formerly were able to go to their own physicians now have to apply for free medical treatment. Our nurses and doctors too, have much more work because of the greatly increased population in their districts. And let me remark here that public health nurses are the best investment a health department can make. Other branches of the health service also have more work during these times—infant welfare stations, milk stations, maternal consultation centers, and venereal disease clinics.

CONCLUSIONS

MR. CANFIELD: Well, from what you gentlemen have said I get two distinct sides to this picture: the first is that modern society has the knowledge and ability to prevent much of the disease it now suffers from. The second side is that although our political representatives are clever enough to see that a few dollars spent for a health department will prevent disease that requires expensive hospitals to cure, they never have financed a health department so that it can use all the available knowledge and do a really first class job. Nevertheless, a time has come in our history when money is scarce, which means that some, and perhaps all of the official departments of our community must operate on less. Now the question seems to be that there are only a certain number of activities of the health department in which cuts can be made, some of which are either obsolete or are not properly matters that come under the head of the health department. It seems furthermore that according to the American Public Health Association there are five activities that a health department *must* conduct if it is to meet the minimum needs of community health protection. These five activities are: the recording of births, deaths, and reportable diseases; the control of communicable diseases; control of water, milk, and

food supplies; protection of maternity, infancy, and childhood; and maintenance of a laboratory. Am I right so far?

DR. EMERSON AND DR. NICOLL: That's right—you've got it.

MR. CANFIELD: There is opportunity for reducing the cost of health protection by making the county the unit of administration according to the recommendations of the committee that studied this question in New York State. A county health department can do more efficient work for a greater number of people at a lower per capita cost, and will eliminate duplication and overlapping of effort. The cost of providing adequate health work should not be less than one dollar per capita annually, but few communities have ever approached this standard. Any cuts that must be made should be made by the health officer himself because he is the only trained person in the community who knows what cuts can be made safely without danger to the public. Does that cover it?

DR. NICOLL: A perfect summary by a first class lawyer, eh, Dr. Emerson?

DR. EMERSON: Absolutely. Clear statement and sound conclusion.

REDUCING THE WELFARE BUDGET

(Continued from Page 415)

services against their economic and social value. They reject the panicky thought that the end of our country and our civilization is at hand. They believe we shall get through this depression by the application of our intelligence and our courage and not through hasty action taken in blind panic. Nowhere is calm intelligence and courage required more than in dealing

with the activities of our government, national, state and local, because it has become increasingly apparent that our governments are the agencies to which we must turn to get us out of the difficulties that confront and threaten to engulf us. All government activities that relate to our economic and social welfare are more important today than they have ever been before in the history of the nation. We must strive for constructive economy and efficiency in government, especially in this field of public welfare.

TAXES MUST BE PAID

MR. BANE: Meriam, I think every sober-minded patriotic citizen will agree with you that never before in the history of our country have the activities of our governments that affect social and economic welfare been so important and yet many people are refusing to pay the taxes that are necessary to support their governments. Investigations have shown that a large part of the so-called delinquent taxes are not owed by poor home owners but by the well-to-do owners of large properties. They prefer to borrow the amount of their taxes from the whole community rather than to pay them for the use of the whole people. A strike against the government on the part of any considerable body of taxpayers is a serious menace to all our institutions. Fortunately, the Committee on Citizens' Councils for Constructive Economy, under whose auspices we have given this broadcast, is fighting this menace. They urge that we all support our government by paying our taxes and that we join in demanding sane constructive economy in public welfare and in public administration generally.

County Reorganization Stirs Old Dominion'

Citizens of many sections of Virginia see chance for efficient local government in centralized authority provided by new optional forms

JEFFRIES HEINRICH

Extension Instructor in Citizenship and Government, University of Virginia

SINCE the passage of the Optional Forms Act² by the General Assembly of Virginia in the early part of 1932 much interest has been focused upon the receptivity by the counties of the executive or manager plans provided therein for voluntary adoption. Albemarle County's action in adopting the executive form on May 2, was described in the June issue of the REVIEW. Though the counties have been slow to take cognizance of the legislation, recent developments indicate that the reorganization movement will come in for due consideration with increasing rapidity.

On June 29, the executive form was rejected by Princess Anne, a county with a population of 16,282 and largely rural in character with the exception of the seaboard between Norfolk and Virginia Beach. The vote against the plan was 1,986 to 800. Not a precinct carried a majority for the change. Here again, as in the case of Albemarle, the opposition was led by the officeholders who followed much the same sort of procedure. The day of the election a disturbed voter wrote me as follows:

"I have been informed by one of the

judges of the court house precinct at noon that more North Carolinians had voted than Virginians. They claim a year's residence in Princess Anne County and the right to vote without paying capitation tax. I would thank you for an interpretation of the law."

The Virginia law allows persons who are otherwise qualified to vote in a special election (which this was) held on or after the second Tuesday in June providing they prove to the satisfaction of the registrar one year's residence and have been assessed their capitation taxes for the current year, but the taxes need not have been paid at the time of the said election. The election in question has not been contested, though doubt apparently exists as to whether all persons voting were duly qualified.

A personal visit to the county a few weeks prior to the election indicated that much educational work still had to be done by those advocating change to overcome the opposition, who packed the meetings with the obvious intent of disturbing the peace. They undoubtedly had the votes behind them, as the results indicate.

MANAGER PLAN LOSES

Northampton County, one of the two rural counties comprising the Eastern Shore of Virginia and having a population of 18,565, held a referendum on the manager plan on August 1. Several

¹Adapted from paper read before the Institute of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, July 6, 1933.

²Chapter 368, Acts of Assembly, Session 1932, (p. 727) Relating to the Organization and Government of Counties. Reprint of act obtainable from Division of Purchasing and Printing, State Capitol, Richmond, Virginia.

weeks prior to the election, citizens in charge of the campaign reported that they were reasonably certain of success, though they found it difficult to estimate the extent of the whispering campaign by the officeholders. However, their lines were broken during those final weeks and the manager plan was defeated by a vote of 931 to 387. The *Eastern Shore Herald*, in an editorial on August 5, attributed the defeat to the assumed six hundred fixed votes of the approximately sixty county officers "from judge to janitor." Discounting these, it maintained that "well over a majority of the voters who had no direct or indirect interest in the county pay-roll voted for a change" and that this protest vote "on the way our county affairs are being run cannot be brushed aside lightly; nor is there justification for much rejoicing on the part of the victors in this contest except on the ground that their incomes are secure until the seed sown in this campaign have had time to fructify and the people then have an opportunity again to express themselves."

One of the proponents of reform stated that they were quite well satisfied with the vote after considering the handicaps under which they worked. He explained that many half-hearted supporters voted against the plan because they saw little likelihood of defeating the present supervisors and were unwilling to entrust to them the appointment of a manager. He described the influence of the county officers in all local civic organizations with one exception. He stated also that the committee had only the contributions of five or six men with which to conduct an educational campaign.

CONSOLIDATION UNPOPULAR

Considering the situation objectively one would think that the two Eastern Shore counties might advantageously consolidate. Inquiry on this subject

made of one of the leaders in the reorganization movement brought this reply:

"The question of consolidation of Accomac and Northampton has been left very much in the background by us. Should such a thought, even, be injected into our campaign, I am sure that shotguns would be put into action. The trend of the times will ultimately call for consolidation, but when it comes, whether by act of legislature or otherwise, I am confident that the National Guard and the State Militia will have to be stationed on the Eastern Shore for several months to command order. Why such should be the case is quite a mystery to me, but I am sure my interpretation of the condition is not overestimated."

Such is the attachment to native heath in Virginia that this quotation might easily be applicable to any other counties in the state. This sentiment will doubtless prove to be the chief obstacle to geographical consolidation.

Henrico, the urban county around Richmond, with a population of 30,310, will consider the adoption of the manager plan on September 19. Until recently the citizens' organization advocating the plan has been fragmentary and incomplete, but it now has definite plans for an intensive campaign during the final month. Its members believe that the poor administrative practices which they revealed in their campaign for signatures to the referendum petition prompted the board of supervisors recently to appoint a county engineer and purchasing agent. They consider this a distinct gain.

Roanoke County, with a population of 35,289 and preponderantly urban in character, will vote upon the executive plan at the time of the general election in November. In contrast to the other counties where a petition of citizens prayed the judge for the referendum, here the county board of supervisors

asked for the election, and, contrary to the wishes of the citizens who had asked them to act, demanded the executive rather than the manager plan. They claimed that a manager would be a dictator. What entered into the judge's decision I do not know, but setting the date of November 7 in effect delays the installation of the plan, even if carried, until January, 1935.

In two counties, Hanover and Elizabeth City, citizen committees have been formed to consider the adaptability of one of the alternative plans to the county. There is evidence of interest on the part of individuals in at least nineteen other of Virginia's one hundred counties.

SUMMARY OF SITUATION

A summary of the situation in Virginia thus shows:

The manager plan adopted by one county.

The executive plan adopted by one county.

The executive plan rejected by one county.

The manager plan rejected by one county.

Referenda dates set in two counties.

Citizens' committees formed in two counties.

Evidence of interest in at least nineteen other counties.³

The movements in all the counties have shown marked similarities. In general they have been citizen movements against entrenched, powerful officials who profit by the confused existent organization and administrative system. Boards of supervisors have in two cases supported change, (Albemarle and Prin-

cess Anne) and in two cases are allied with the opposition (Roanoke and Henrico). They took no open stand in Northampton.

Excerpts from printed pamphlets of citizens' committees directing the reorganization movement show that they are working to eliminate the present system of county government rather than any particular officers:

"No vote will be cast for or against any county officer, but for or against a new system of county government designed to remove the weaknesses and defects of the present system. . . . There is a strong tendency for the state to take over functions formerly exercised by the county. . . . The present tendency will continue unless county government is made more responsible and more efficient. The real issue before the voters of the county then is whether local self-government shall be rescued for the county by the adoption of a responsible, economical, and efficient system of government, or whether it shall be entirely lost through the process of further state centralization."⁴

"Will you help to lower taxes and give your county a form of government which will be within your control?"⁵

"It (the law) provides for a complete and sweeping change in the form of government under which the counties may operate. . . . This is the first time Virginia counties have been given a chance to have a voice in the form of government under which they live."⁶

These citizen movements have been

⁴Albemarle Citizens League: "An Important Issue Before the Voters of Albemarle County."

⁵Leaflet: "The County Executive Form of Government, a Government of the People, by the People, and for the People, Questions and Answers," published by the Better Government Committee of Princess Anne County, Virginia.

⁶Leaflet: "County Manager Form of Government," Brookland District Citizens' Association (Henrico County).

³This summary, it should be said, disregards experimental steps in the direction of county management taken earlier by several Virginia counties, among them, Augusta, which has had an executive clerk, equivalent to a manager, for several years.

prompted by the expensiveness and inefficiency of the present form of government pointed out in the several studies made of county government and borne out most positively by the state auditor's investigations. Upon the refusal of one county board to pay the auditor's bill, he wrote: "This department does not regard your resolution of May 29 as being such an earnest desire on your part to administer the affairs of your county capably as it is to justify the bad record which you have made in tax administrative practices and which my predecessor (T. Coleman Andrews) has outlined."⁷

The arguments and tactics of the opposing forces in each case are parallel. They seek to draw red herrings across the trail to frighten the people, claiming that adoption of either plan means loss of popular control, usurpation of power, and disappearance of the magisterial district. They misrepresent the intent and letter of the act. They warn against a dangerous, untried experiment.

The real danger is that the people in their ignorance will give heed to such arguments without examining conditions and studying the proposed plans for themselves. The necessary legislation for correcting the prevailing system has been passed. The people are offered the

opportunity of informing themselves.⁸ In the final analysis the future of county government in Virginia is in their hands. It is to be hoped the decision will be on the basis of facts.

BIGGER AND BETTER GOVERNMENTS WANTED

(Continued from Page 436)

highways. Thus, we have both sides fighting consolidation. Consolidation is, therefore, difficult to obtain.

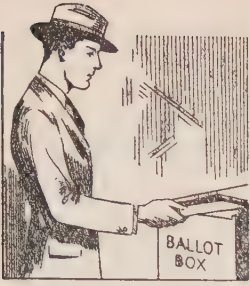
The citizens, it seems to me, should look upon a unit of government as a co-operative business. The purpose of the coöperative is to provide the best quality of education, highways, health protection, relief to needy citizens, and other such services at the lowest possible cost. If such a coöperative has more officers than necessary for the job it should reduce their number, or if there are too many associations for a low cost of service, consolidation should result. Providing government is a business. It should be businesslike.

I have stated that the question: "Are there too many governments?" must be answered by every taxpayer. If you are satisfied in paying more taxes than necessary, your answer is "No." Otherwise, it is "Yes." I, for one, am certain that there are too many governments.

⁷Richmond *Times-Dispatch*, June 17, 1933, p. 1.

⁸See University of Virginia News Letter, May 1, 1933, "Educational Campaign on County Government."





PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

EDITED BY GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.

Continuing the Proportional Representation Review

County Government Committee.—The second report of the National Municipal League's County Government Committee, "Principles of a Model County Government," published as a supplement to this REVIEW, constitutes a new and significant endorsement of the principle of proportional representation. In the specifications for the method of electing the county board, which the committee recommends should have extensive legislative powers and also power to appoint and remove a county manager, the Hare system of P. R. is given as the preferred alternative. Taken with the renewed recommendations of P. R. in the new editions of the "Model State Constitution" and the "Model City Charter" published in March and May of this year, this puts the League's carefully chosen committees of governmental authorities on record in favor of a complete program of proportional representation for all of the important legislative bodies which they have considered. Copies of the reports may be purchased separately from the League ("Principles of a Model County Government," 35 cents; "Model State Constitution," 50 cents; "Model City Charter," \$1.00).

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A City Without Financial Worries.—

After seven and a half years of government under a really representative council and city managers chosen by it, with a practical organization of citizens to give it backing, Cincinnati finds itself in a financial situation which few cities in these days can fail to envy. In his budget message for 1934, submitted to

the Cincinnati council June 28 and published in the Cincinnati *City Bulletin* July 18, City Manager Dykstra summarizes the city's happy plight as follows:

"Gentlemen:—I transmit herewith the City Manager's budget estimates for 1934. The grand total of requests runs to \$14,200,299.00 as compared with last year's total of \$15,192,151.00. Last year the 1933 request was approximately \$1,000,000.00 less than the 1932 request. The 1934 request bears this same relation to the amount asked for in 1933. Thus this year's budget estimates run approximately \$2,000,000.00 less than the estimates of two years ago. . . .

"I am glad to report the continued low cost of services in the city of Cincinnati. This low cost for service, and the fact that our citizens continue in large proportion to pay their taxes, make possible our sound financial and administrative policy during the critical times through which we are passing. The result is that the city is paying all of its bills, is nowhere in default, and has no need for short-time borrowing or for accommodation from the banks. . . .

"It is possible at this time to forecast that Cincinnati will maintain a balanced budget through the year 1933. Several sources of revenue which were not anticipated in the 1933 appropriation ordinance have provided the city with a comfortable balance. These excess revenues have been held sacred and inviolable during the current year. The return by the state of the excess intangibles, the unexpected beer tax, and balances in the

Mill Creek Sewer Fund amount to \$665,446.00. Besides this balance it is believed that the city can operate and find itself with a surplus at the end of the year of more than \$46,000.00. These facts explain the item in the general fund, 'Unexpended Balance,' herewith submitted, \$711,722.00." . . .

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Upper House of New South Wales.—

The legislature of New South Wales has passed a measure—referred to in this department in April 1933—to prescribe the Hare system of P. R. for its upper house, the legislative council. The council is to consist of sixty members, fifteen elected every fourth year by the members of both houses. The bill takes effect only if approved at a popular referendum. New South Wales used P. R. for the direct popular elections of its lower house from 1918 to 1926, when it was abolished for political reasons by the party then in power. This new application of the principle and the recent recommendation of a Royal Commission that P. R. be used for the direct elections of the Senate of the Australian Commonwealth bear witness to the impression left by the province's earlier experience.

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Further Gains in South Australia.—

As you know, the two branches of the Labour party each brought in bills last year for P. R. but they were lost. However, I foresaw that they could not go to the country without P. R. in their platforms, and this was so. The ex-premier, Mr. R. S. Richards, made it a chief plank, and Mr. Dawes, leader of the Labour party, followed suit. In addition we had the support of every independent candidate except one.

The government returned to power under the Australian Senate system, which is one of the most pernicious electoral systems known, has been returned on a 32 per cent vote of those voting, and as all other candidates supported P. R. we are able to claim that 68 per cent of the people have pronounced in favour of our reform, particularly as some of the winning side are supporters. Of about 127 candidates we were able to advertise no fewer than 80 as supporters.—Mrs. Jeanne F. Young, president of the Proportional Representation Group of South Australia, Adelaide.

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New Applications of P. R. Proposed for India.—At a time when parliamentary government is being abandoned in Germany, the

British Government is undertaking the task, in which it has had the coöperation of many representatives of India in three round table conferences, of framing a new constitution for India establishing parliamentary government. There are differences of opinion as to how far responsible parliamentary government should be introduced in India. But whether responsible government is to be limited to the provinces of India, as was suggested in the Simon Report, or whether it should be carried a stage further, as proposed in the Government's White Paper,¹ there has been agreement of opinion both in India and in Britain that the parliaments of India must contain representatives of the minorities. On this point the Simon Commission, containing members of all British parties, were unanimous, and during the round table conference the British Government pledged itself to guarantee such representation. The representation of minorities in parliaments, and even in the governments, is indeed the key principle running through the proposed new constitution. The exclusive rule of one party or group is made almost impossible.

In the absence of agreement on better and less rigid methods of representation, there will be created for the minorities separate electoral registers and separate constituencies. This will provide for representation of communities, but may not, and is unlikely to, provide for the representation of that moderate opinion within each community on which the smooth working of the new constitution may depend. In the absence of suitable methods of election, moderate opinion may have little or no representation.

For certain important purposes, it is proposed to make use of proportional representation with the single transferable vote. The Simon Commission recommended that the federal legislature should be elected by this method by members of the provincial legislatures. In the Government's proposals, the recommendation is limited to the election of the upper house of the federal legislature, the Council of State, which, in respect of 136 of its members, will be elected by the provincial legislatures. In addition, it is proposed that in the provincial legislatures of Bengal and of Bihar, which consist of two chambers, a substantial part of the upper house shall be elected by P. R. In every new constitution proportional representation seems to find a

¹Proposals for Indian Constitutional Reform, CMD, 4268, 1933.

place, and the present British Government and Parliament, in the new constitution for India, will give its sanction and approval to a fresh use of the proportional system.—Report of the British P. R. Society.

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Greece Continues Experimentation.—

In Greece the general election of March 1933 was held under the system of the block vote. M. Venizelos was defeated by some twenty seats in this election, but it would seem from the figures available that the opposition, the Popular party and its allies, polled in the nation as a whole slightly fewer votes than those cast for Venizelos and his allies. In Athens, which elects 21 members "at large," the number of voters supporting the 21 candidates of the Popular party, was, roughly, 44,000; the number supporting the Venizelist party was 42,500; the election gave twenty seats in Athens to the Popular party, and only one to the party of Venizelos. A turnover of 1,000 votes in this constituency would have drastically changed the composition of the Chamber; M. Venizelos, instead of being in a minority, would have had a majority of the seats.

On two occasions P. R. has been used in Greece. It produced a representative chamber in 1926, and a coalition government was formed with M. Zaimis as Prime Minister, a government that marked the passing of Greece from dictatorship to a parliamentary regime. P. R. was abolished by decree by M. Venizelos on his return to politics in 1928, and the abolition of the system gave his party a large majority at the ensuing election. It was re-introduced in 1932 to prevent the Royalists obtaining a majority of seats on a minority of votes; it was abolished prior to the election, March 1933. The figures quoted above show that the present system, the block vote, is most uncertain and unfair in its results. It has on this occasion resulted in a very marked division between "old," or Southern Greece, and "new," or Northern Greece. In contrast to his failure in Athens, M. Venizelos obtained all the eighteen seats in Salonika. Such artificial exaggeration of differences does not make for the consolidation of the country. We may be confident that the "block vote" system will not last; the day will come when P. R. will be introduced, not because of its possible effect on an election in

immediate prospect, but because it creates a parliament fairly representative of all parts of Greece.—Report of the British P. R. Society.

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Hands Across Our Northern Boundary.

The trustees of the Proportional Representation League, which still maintains its corporate existence though its work is now consolidated with that of the National Municipal League, have recently elected Ronald Hooper, managing editor of the *Winnipeg Evening Tribune*, an honorary vice-president of the League and now announce with gratification Mr. Hooper's acceptance. The honorary vice-presidencies of the P. R. League are always held by distinguished proportionalists of other countries to signify the international character of the movement for true representative government. The other present incumbents are the Rt. Hon. Lord Parmoor of England, Chairman of the General Council of the British P. R. Society; John H. Humphreys, Secretary of the British Society, who is looked to as the leading spirit of the P. R. movement in all parts of the English-speaking world; and Professor E. J. Nanson of the University of Melbourne, Australia.

Mr. Hooper richly deserves the tribute paid him by the P. R. League's trustees. As secretary of the formerly active P. R. Society of Canada he was the chief individual moving force behind the adoption of P. R. in a number of Canadian municipalities, including Winnipeg and Calgary where after more than a dozen years it is still in successful use, the adoptions of P. R. for provincial elections in Winnipeg, Calgary, and Edmonton, and the inclusion of P. R. as a policy of the Liberal party and several locally influential minor parties, notably the United Farmers of Alberta, which re-affirmed its advocacy at this year's convention. Fittingly enough, he is now reeve of the important Winnipeg suburb of St. James, elected by the "alternative vote" (the Hare system applied to the election of a single officer) and serving in conjunction with a P. R. council.

Mr. Hooper succeeds the late Dr. James W. Robertson, one of the most prominent figures in the public life of Canada, who died in 1930. Dr. Robertson was the first principal of Macdonald College, federal dairy commissioner, chief commissioner of the Canadian Boy Scouts, and president of the

national council of the Red Cross Society, to mention a few of his manifold interests and activities aside from his long advocacy of proportional representation.

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More Campus Elections by P. R.—

In January of this year the Student Board of Columbia University adopted proportional representation with the single transferable vote for its future elections. The change was made at the suggestion of Professor Joseph D. McGoldrick as a solution to the problem of giving representation to unorganized voters.

"Complicated as it is," the *Columbia Spectator* said editorially on January 13th, "the single transferable vote plan recommended by Professor McGoldrick and passed yesterday by Student Board should meet with the hearty approval of every undergraduate who is interested in 'good government.' The plan fits the needs of the campus in promising to minimize the power of any bloc, prevent effective 'deals' and provide just representation for all college interests. The plan was utilized by the Board yesterday in a bold stroke which should free class elections and general elections from the stigma of disreputable politics, for this year at least."

The first election was held in February and resulted in the election of one independent and one representative of the fraternities. The total poll exceeded by nearly two hundred the number polled in the corresponding election in 1932 and (to quote the *Spectator* again) "candidates, their friends and well-wishers stood around on chairs, the radiator and the filing cabinet as the vote counting progressed." The candidate who was fourth on first choices was one of the two elected when the ballots which would otherwise have been wasted on hopeless candidates were made effective by being transferred to their next choices. Both sides in the contest expressed satisfaction with the new plan.

Five other members were elected by P. R. in April.

Among the other university student bodies which have recently used P. R. is that of the University of Colorado, which used the plan in its elections in 1930. "It was in operation only one year," writes Mrs. Vinita C. Randall of the University, "and the result was a three-three-three split between the three parties. This result corresponded almost ex-

actly with the popular strength of the factions.

"The general opinion among student leaders is that the plan worked exceedingly well, considering that it was in operation only one year. . . . The election system went out of use when all forms of elections were abrogated, but it is certain that the Hare system was not responsible for this situation, except that it was responsible for the inability of the campus politicians to scheme with any degree of success, and the result was that they caused a situation that eliminated the popular government of the campus at that time."

The University of Colorado is situated in the city of Boulder, which has used P. R. for its city council elections since 1917.

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The Constitutionality Question in Mis-

souri.—Of exceptional interest to Missouri proportionalists and to all students of the constitutionality of proportional representation is "The Constitutionality of Proportional Representation as Applied to Elections in the State of Missouri," by E. M. Grossman and F. Warner Fischer, published in the *St. Louis Law Review* for December 1932. This painstaking analysis first takes up the general question of whether a constitutional guarantee to qualified voters of the right to vote "at all elections" rules out P. R., as held by the Supreme Court of California, and concludes that the case for P. R. under this language is strong. It holds, however, that a state permissive law or a change in the state election laws is necessary before P. R. can be adopted in view of a provision in the Missouri constitution which explicitly states that any charter adopted by chartered cities, including the city of St. Louis, shall be "in harmony with the constitution and laws of the state."

This conclusion, if correct, is of considerable practical importance to St. Louis and Kansas City, in both of which there are substantial incipient movements for P. R. The charter of St. Louis, adopted by popular vote in 1914, contains the provision: "Whenever it may be done in harmony with the state constitution and laws, the Board of Aldermen shall by ordinance provide for and regulate municipal elections and registration of voters and may provide by ordinance for nonpartisan nominations, preferential voting, or proportional representation."



RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

EDITED BY EDNA TRULL

From Plan to Reality. New York, Regional Plan Association, 1933. 142 pp. \$2.00.

For those who are sceptical of the "power of large plans to stir men's minds" the recently issued report of the staff of the Regional Plan Association—the organization formed to carry on the task of making the Plan of New York and its Environs a living force in the evolution of the New York metropolitan region—should dispel most doubts. Here we have the picture of an entirely unofficial program for the physical development of the largest urbanized area in the world which has through its sheer merit and the devotion of a group of men with vision apparently succeeded in becoming accepted as a general guide towards the practical solution of problems of regional development. Granting, as do the authors of the report, that the regional plan at the time of its promulgation included many projects that had already been officially approved or were even in process of realization, there nevertheless seem to have occurred too many "coincidences" in respect to individual projects to permit the influence of the plan to be set aside. If the data reported are exact—and the standing of the Regional Plan Association forbids any other assumption—then the original proposals of Thomas Adams and his associates are most emphatically guiding the efforts of the twelve million inhabitants of the region towards a more livable and serviceable environment.

Not only does *From Plan to Reality*—perhaps "towards" would have been better than "to"—present a valid argument for the usefulness of the particular plan which it discusses, but it may well stand as a practical

example, of which there are none too many in this country, of how such an instrument may be expected to function under the conditions which prevail to a greater or less extent in all similar areas. In some cases the plan has provided the exact model for a public improvement; in others it has evidently acted by indirection and inspired variations which the authors of the report accept as of equal value with the original suggestion; in still other instances—the Chrystie-Forsyth Street area, for example—the suggestions of the plan seem to have been ignored.

In view of the constant revisions in detail which must characterize all programs on so gigantic a scale as the New York regional plan the question of whether or not a given improvement agrees with the original proposals is of course subordinate to the question whether it promotes, under changed conditions, the social purposes underlying the plan as a whole. While the present report does not deal with the economic shifts in the area to the extent which might be wished, the generous acknowledgments of credit on the part of its authors show that the larger conception has not been lost sight of.

In its makeup, *From Plan to Reality* fully maintains the high standards of the survey and plan volumes. Nineteen diagrams, thirty-five photographs, and various summary tables serve to fix the message of the text. There are two main sections, one devoted to the appraisal of actual developments in the New York region since 1929 and the other to considerations of selected projects in the light of recent advances in the art of planning. Even though possibly not intimately acquainted with

the territory, the reader of this report, if provided with a planning background, cannot fail to appreciate the technical value of these discussions. Indeed the present volume, like those of the plan itself, carries out a tradition of education in the principles of sound planning which gives it an importance far beyond that of recording the progress of the past four years.

THOMAS L. HINCKLEY.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

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State Grants-in-Aid in Virginia. By Tip-ton R. Snaveley, Duncan C. Hyde, and Alvin B. Biscoe. New York, The Century Company, 1933. 244 pp. \$2.50.

This volume, published by The Century Company for the University of Virginia's Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, is an important addition to the rapidly growing list of volumes dealing with state-local relations. In scholarly fashion it traces the development of state subventions to local units in Virginia, pictures the present status of these grants, and offers pertinent criticisms.

The first chapter, "The Theory of Grants-in-Aid," is a discussion of the various methods of distribution and the problems involved. Then follows the story of Virginia's experience with segregation of state and local revenue, under the caption "State Subventions and the Tax System." The thesis of this second chapter is that local sources of revenue are inflexible and are rapidly proving inadequate; that increasing demands on the state treasury will, therefore, be made by the local communities; and that the natural result will be larger and larger subsidies—probably for an increasing variety of purposes. It follows as a matter of course that the subsidy system should be made as efficient as possible.

Four of the nine chapters are devoted to education, one to highways, and one to health and welfare combined. These chapters are the heart of the volume. They present a detailed and critical analysis of Virginia's subventions to local units—the purposes for which grants are made, the bases of distribution, attempts to establish and enforce state standards, administrative methods employed, and results accomplished. Numerous charts and tables accompany the text. Specific criticisms and specific suggestions for improvement are scattered throughout these chapters, al-

though there is a chapter at the end of the volume devoted solely to criticisms and recommendations. The authors urge that state money be apportioned on the basis of need—that is, in direct ratio to the cost of each function and in inverse ratio to the estimated wealth of the several local units of government. This means, of course, that the state must play an increasingly important part in the administration of those services for which subsidies are granted. It must determine the exact cost of each service for each community, basing its conclusions on minimum standards which it establishes and enforces. Equally important, it must find the true value of each community's taxable wealth—chiefly its real need for state assistance. Real estate values are a crude gage of financial ability to support public services, but they can be determined more accurately than other indices for which greater theoretical justification can be found.

With these conclusions it is difficult to disagree. The only obvious flaw in the several subsidy plans prepared by the authors for the various functions of government is that each function is treated as a distinct entity, whose cost bears no relation to the cost of other services. That a close relationship does actually exist is recognized in the closing pages of the volume, however. "The services performed by the localities constitute a unified program of a single fiscal unit with the financial needs of one activity balanced against the needs of the other functions. It is essential, therefore, that all services required or desired by the locality be viewed, not as a collection of individual services, but as a coordinated whole." (Pp. 209-210.) But this sage advice appears as a last-minute warning; it finds no place in the numerous specific recommendations.

The volume is well written, and there are no marked variations in style or in method of presentation to indicate the separate contributions of the three authors. Brief discussions of state subventions in fourteen other states shed some light on what is being done outside of Virginia. From every standpoint the book is excellent, and should serve as a model for similar studies in other commonwealths.

AUSTIN F. MACDONALD.

University of California.

The London County Council from Within. By Sir Harry Haward. London, Chapman and Hall, Ltd. 1932. 437 pp. 21 s.

This book is very much more than the record of forty years spent in municipal service; it is much more than an explanation of the enormous and complicated financial machinery of the government of the British metropolis, and of the principal undertakings of that government in that period. It is a liberal education in the science and art of governmental administration for it is as careful to record failures as well as successes and therefore it imparts not only knowledge but wisdom.

Best of all, it is the record of official activity by one who not only took for granted certain attitudes toward government but who was surrounded by others both elected and appointed who shared such views. What these attitudes are can be judged by sentences such as these:

"... no breath of suspicion in respect to corruption to my knowledge ever rested on the administration." "Let me here record the fact that I carefully avoided identifying myself in any way with either party on the Council and my political views are unknown to members." Some day those attitudes will dominate the minds of all those in charge of American metropolises and in that day we shall attract and hold in the service of our cities many men with the same splendid character and high ability as the painstaking author of this book reveals himself to be.

WALTER J. MILLARD.

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Handling Communicable Diseases in New York State Municipalities. By James B. Hume, Jr., Albany, New York State Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials, Bureau of Training and Research, 1933. 51 pp. \$1.00.

Under the auspices of the publishing organization and the School of Citizenship and Public Affairs of Syracuse University, Mr. Hume undertook to secure from the cities and first-class villages of the state, information on their methods of dealing with communicable diseases. Sufficient material was collected to make it possible to present a comprehensive picture of the subject, with a number of short comparable tables of statisti-

cal data. Chapter headings include the reporting and investigation of communicable diseases, their care and control, home isolation, hospitalization, and recommendations.

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Condemnation Procedure and Land Purchase Practices in New York State Municipalities. By Elwyn E. Mariner. Albany, New York State Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials, Bureau of Training and Research, 1933. 59 pp. \$1.00.

Mr. Mariner conducted his study under the auspices of the publishing organization and the School of Citizenship and Public Affairs of Syracuse University. It was undertaken to show the approximate magnitude of the problem of condemnation in New York cities and villages, to set forth the general and local laws governing the acts of municipalities in acquiring real estate, to show the results obtained including the effect of various procedural factors on the cost of the land, to point out comparable material, and to suggest improved legislation, both general and local. After a brief introduction and description of the laws, the author gives his attention to the acquisition procedure existing and results obtained. In conclusion he offers recommendations for future action.

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The Administration of Municipal Sinking Funds in New York State. By A. Howard Myers. Albany, New York State Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials, Bureau of Training and Research, 1933. 39 pp. \$1.00.

There were, on December 31, 1931, twenty municipalities of New York State which had sinking fund debts, averaging 74 per cent of their total bonded debt. It is with the administration of the sinking funds that Mr. Myers is concerned. Making his study under the auspices of the Graduate Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University and the New York Conference of Mayors, he analyzed the state legal provisions and supervision of sinking funds, local legal provisions and administration, and the condition of the funds. The author offers several suggestions for improving sinking fund administration, notably through more complete supervision by the state.

A Study of Delinquent Taxes in Dayton and Montgomery County. Dayton, The Dayton Research Association, 1933. 80 pp. mimeo.

With Dayton and Montgomery County, Ohio, admittedly in a very precarious financial position, a study of one of the major factors leading to that situation, tax delinquency, is of peculiar interest. The Dayton Research Association has done a thorough analysis of tax collections over a period of years. General taxes, personal taxes, and special assessments have all been given attention. Although the long time study is of great value, one is tempted to wonder if conclusions might have been any different had more of the depression years been included. Interesting suggestions for the collection of the delinquent taxes are offered and a number of pages are devoted to tax collection methods in other cities.

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Final Report of the Illinois Housing Commission. Springfield, 1933. 34 pp.

The Illinois Housing Commission was created by act of the Illinois legislature in 1933 to investigate housing conditions, to make recommendations for their improvement, and to draft the necessary legislation. In this report of the Commission submitted to the legislature in 1933, the proposed housing bills are summarized and housing is discussed under the two major heads of meeting the current economic emergency and planning a long-term housing program.

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MUNICIPAL REPORTS

ALBERT LEA, MINNESOTA (10,169). *Annual Report for 1932.* By C. C. Ludwig, City Manager. 24 pp.

LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY (45,736). *Annual Report, 1932.* By Paul Morton, City Manager. 38 pp.

WICHITA, KANSAS (111,110). *Civic Progress, 1932.* By Bert C. Wells, City Manager. 70 pp.

The Albert Lea report, though of vest pocket size, presents practically all the facts regarding the city government in which a normal citizen would be interested. Several pictures depicting city activities and a few charts indicating trends in fire, health, police, and like activities, add to its attractiveness.

A hasty glance at the well-drawn charts shows that in 1932 only 32 per cent of the major offenses were cleared as compared with 50 per cent for the previous year. This figure is quoted here to illustrate honest reporting of crime statistics—not a universal practice by any means, though improving. A feature that will immediately arrest the eye of Mr. Taxpayer is the schedule of salaries of all employees, from the city manager to the dump tender. A small city wanting to know how to report to its citizens should use this as a model. The fact that it was in the hands of the reading public twelve days after the end of the year should not be overlooked by those who seek excuses for publishing a report four to twelve months late.

The Lexington report—the first under council-manager government in that city—has many striking features. The main criticism is its shortage of illustrative material. A clear chart of the activities of some department would have interested the taxpayer more than the likenesses of his official family whom he may see daily. Nevertheless it is an excellent report for a glance will tell you that the tax rate was cut from 2.62 to 2.50; that the year ended with a cash balance of nearly \$12,000; that operating costs were \$144,000 under the previous year; that the public debt was reduced \$187,000; that a modern accounting system was installed; and so on down the list of accomplishments that convince the taxpayer his public affairs are being capably managed.

The Wichita report is by far the most attractive of the three and in nearly all other respects it represents a high record mark of public reporting. We must take exception to its length and express disappointment over the omission of a letter of transmittal. It would be hard to improve its charts and the character of its well-chosen pictures. The change of type to emphasize important facts greatly aids the hasty reader and gives one the high spots in a moment. The accomplishments include a 5 per cent reduction in the tax rate; first honors in the National Safety Contest; the purchase of a new thirty-three acre park; a decrease of 31 per cent in car thefts; and an increase of 12 per cent in book circulation. In the light of such facts can one say that public reporting does not pay?

CLARENCE E. RIDLEY,
The University of Chicago.



GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION NOTES

EDITED BY ROBERT M. PAIGE

Secretary-Treasurer, G. R. A.

Governmental Research Agencies.—

The following governmental research organizations are now affiliated with the Governmental Research Association. Those marked with an asterisk are represented in the Association by individuals who did not belong to the association in 1932. Those organizations in bold-face have been organized recently. If these new organizations are not preceded by an asterisk the director has been a member of the G. R. A. for at least a year.

NATIONAL

- *American Legislators' Association
- American Municipal Association
- *American Public Welfare Association
- *American Political Science Association
- *Bureau of Agricultural Economics; U. S. Department of Agriculture
- *Bureau of Social Hygiene
- *Finance Department; Chamber of Commerce of the United States
- Griffenhagen and Associates
- Institute for Government Research
- Institute of Public Administration
- International City Managers' Association
- *Municipal Finance Officers' Association
- ***Municipal Management and Research Company**
- Municipal Service Department, Dun and Bradstreet, Inc.**
- *J. L. Jacobs and Company
- *National Industrial Conference Board
- National Municipal League
- *National Recreation Association
- Public Administration Clearing House
- Public Administration Service
- United States Bureau of the Budget

STATE

- (State-wide in scope)
- Peoples' Conference on Government (Arkansas)
- Bureau of Public Administration; University of California
- *California Taxpayers' Association

Bureau of Business and Government Research; University of Colorado

Bureau for Government Research; Indiana State Chamber of Commerce

- *League of Kansas Municipalities
- *Bureau of Business Research; University of Kentucky
- *Bureau of Municipal Research; Harvard University
- ***Massachusetts State Branch of the National Economy League**

Bureau of Government; University of Michigan

- ***Minnesota Taxpayers' Association**
- Municipal Reference Bureau; University of Minnesota

- ***New Jersey Taxpayers' Association**
- Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico
- Bureau of Training and Research, New York State Conference of Mayors
- Division of Research in Public Administration, New York University**
- School of Citizenship; Syracuse University
- Ohio Institute

- ***Pennsylvania Economic Council**
- *Research Bureau, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce

- ***Tennessee Taxpayers' Association**
- *Bureau of Municipal Affairs; Norwich University

Bureau of Public Administration; University of Virginia

- Municipal Reference Bureau, League of Virginia Municipalities
- *Department of Efficiency; State of Washington

Bureau of Research in Government; West Virginia University

- ***Wisconsin Taxpayers' Alliance**
- Hawaii Bureau of Governmental Research

LOCAL

CALIFORNIA

- *Bureau of Budget and Efficiency of the County of Los Angeles
- Bureau of Budget and Efficiency of the City of Los Angeles
- *Los Angeles Bureau of Municipal Research

- San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research
- CONNECTICUT
New Haven Taxpayers' Association
- DELAWARE
Taxpayers' Research League of Delaware
- ILLINOIS
Chicago Civic Federation and Bureau of Public Efficiency
*Social Science Research Committee; University of Chicago
Public Affairs Committee, Union League Club (Chicago)
- INDIANA
***Lake County Taxpayers' Association (Gary)**
Civic Affairs Department; Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce
- IOWA
Bureau of Municipal Research of Des Moines
- LOUISIANA
Bureau of Governmental Research of New Orleans
- MARYLAND
Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy
- MASSACHUSETTS
Boston Municipal Research Bureau
*Civic Bureau, Boston Chamber of Commerce
Boston Finance Commission
*Boston Good Government Association
***Fitchburgh Taxpayers' Association**
New Bedford Taxpayers' Association
- MICHIGAN
Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research
- MINNESOTA
Taxpayers' League of St. Louis County (Duluth)
Minneapolis Taxpayers' Association
*St. Paul Bureau of Municipal Research
- MISSOURI
Kansas City Civic Research Institute
Civic Department, Kansas City Chamber of Commerce
St. Louis Bureau of Municipal Research
- NEW JERSEY
Citizens' Advisory Finance Committee of Newark
*Atlantic City Survey Commission
- NEW YORK
Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau
*Elmira Association of Commerce
Institute for Public Service (New York City)
***Citizens' Budget Commission (New York City)**
*Municipal Affairs Department; New York City League of Women Voters
Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research
Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research
- OHIO
Bureau of Municipal Research; Akron Chamber of Commerce
Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research
- Municipal Reference Bureau; University of Cincinnati
*Dayton Research Association
*Toledo Commission of Publicity and Efficiency
- OREGON
*Portland Tax Supervising and Conservation Commission
*Research Committee; Portland Chamber of Commerce
- PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research
Thomas Skelton Harrison Foundation (Philadelphia)
Taxpayers' Association of Wyoming Valley (Wilkes-Barre)
- RHODE ISLAND
Providence Governmental Research Bureau
- TENNESSEE
Hamilton County Taxpayers' League (Chattanooga)
- WISCONSIN
Milwaukee Citizens' Bureau
- CANADA
Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research *
- Bureau of Governmental Research of Kansas City, Kansas Chamber of Commerce.**—A report covering the work of the Bureau since its organization in 1927 has been issued. A summary of the results of the Bureau's activities shows:
- "A definite saving in governmental expenditures of approximately \$1,847,000. The enactment of fourteen regulatory laws sponsored or approved by the Bureau. The adoption of methods and procedures suggested by the Bureau in six cases. The rejection or discontinuance of costly and unsound plans and methods in six instances. The publication of thirty-two bulletins and thirty-three reports for the information of the public and at the request of officials."
- These results seem amply to justify the conviction of six years ago that an expenditure of six million dollars in local government required an independent authoritative agency to promote a more business-like administration of government.
- Clifton Roberts is now the director of the Bureau, having succeeded Merle De Wees who is now with the Duluth (Minnesota) Taxpayers' League.
- *
- Nevada Taxpayers Association.**— Under an act passed by the last session of the legislature the state embarked on the policy of carrying its own insurance against losses through defalcations and embezzlements on

the part of public officials. The next logical step, in the opinion of the Taxpayers Association, is to provide for state fire insurance on all property belonging to the state, counties, cities, and school districts. The savings in this field it is believed would greatly exceed the savings on official bonds and the reasons for adopting the policy would be equally sound.

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Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research.—The present emergency has forced Cincinnati from the previously held position that the community responsibility for poor relief should be under both the administrative and financial control of the private charitable organizations. Within the past year the financial responsibility has definitely shifted over first to local and then to state and national authorities. However the present organization for relief administration in Hamilton County is based on coöperative arrangements between the more than twenty-eight public and private welfare-relief agencies which were operating in the relief field before the current business depression. In the opinion of the Bureau, the time has come for a complete reorganization of the welfare-relief administration.

After a thorough survey the Bureau has made a detailed report which includes the following recommendations:

Complete assumption by the county welfare department of "all of the activities of private social agencies which involve either the direct or indirect expenditure of public funds."

The creation in the county welfare department of five major divisions: records and accounts, warehouse and supplies, emergency work, case work, and transient service, each division to be headed by a well-qualified director.

The transfer of all the activities of the city department of public welfare, with the exception of the workhouse and employment bureau, to the county welfare department.

The centralization of all social case work which is carried on in connection with the distribution of public funds in one case work division.

The following questions were used by the Bureau as criteria in planning the reorganization proposals:—

1. Does the organization facilitate comprehensive financial planning and budgetary con-

trol? Can centralized purchasing, accounting and reporting be effectively administered?

2. Is a uniform and fair standard of public relief maintained?

3. Is there a uniform employee classification and pay plan for all social workers engaged in the program?

4. Is the organization set up along functional lines? Is responsibility for given parts of the program clear cut?

5. Is duplication of effort prevented in the most efficient manner possible?

6. Is the proper distinction made between the newer type of unemployment relief cases and the traditional charity case load? Does the fact that case workers of the private agencies handle both types of cases have any effect on this question?

7. Has the addition of the great amount of unemployment relief work interfered with the regular programs of the private agencies?

8. In general, is the present organization so constituted that the board of county commissioners is able to effectively formulate and carry through a planned relief program on a country-wide scale?

Russel Drake of the Bureau's staff worked on this report and at the conclusion of the survey was loaned to the county welfare department to assist in the installation of the Bureau's recommendations.

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New Bedford Taxpayers Association.—An analysis of the operating costs of various city departments has been prepared by Hart Cummin, director of the Association. Net operating costs doubled between 1918 and 1927, but appropriations for 1933 were just about 25 per cent higher than operating costs in 1918. The percentage distribution of expenditures has been calculated for 1918, 1927, and 1933 and this makes possible some interesting comparisons.

The Association is now making a study of welfare costs in an effort to determine what is their relationship to industrial pay-rolls in New Bedford. From the data already collected it is believed that it is possible to estimate the probable decrease in welfare costs which will follow a given increase in pay-rolls.

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Providence Governmental Research Bureau.—A memorandum on the need for two

new senior high schools proposed for Providence has been prepared. In this memorandum the Bureau estimates the additional annual costs involved in this construction program and thoroughly analyzes the extent to which existing facilities are inadequate. The Bureau is of the opinion that Providence schools are utilized to about 70 per cent of capacity whereas 90 per cent capacity use is both feasible and desirable.

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Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance.—A recent survey has shown that high school districts in Wisconsin cover less than 20 per cent of the area of the state. Towns and villages lying outside of a high school district can provide high school education by paying tuition to a neighboring district. However, whereas 25 per cent of the children of school age in *cities* are attending high schools, only 8 per cent of the children of school age in *rural* areas are attending high schools. The fact that close to one-half (43 per cent) of the public high schools in Wisconsin are below the desirable minimum of 100 pupils enrollment, that only 20 per cent of the area of the state is included in high school districts, and that the rural children are not attending high schools, shows that high school education is not being made available to large numbers of children in the state.

The Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance is directing the attention of Wisconsin citizens to the fact that educators believe large amounts of the taxpayers' money are being spent for educating small numbers of pupils in the low enrollment high schools, that the education they receive must, of necessity, be less complete than that of the child who attends a larger city high school and that the solution lies in enlarging and strengthening the small enrollment school by increasing the area from which they receive pupils, and in centralizing the direction of a completely coordinated system of education within each county under a county board of education.

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City Affairs Committee of New York.—An excellent summary of the Seabury investigation has recently been prepared by a

committee of which John Dewey was the chairman and published by the City Affairs Committee. Such high points of the investigation as the disclosure of how the political bosses choose Supreme Court judges, the incomes of district leaders of the party, the sources of ex-mayor Walker's income, and the political control of the magistrates courts are succinctly summarized. Brief chapters on the significance of the investigation and Mr. Seabury's recommendations are also included. The booklet should be very useful in bringing these significant disclosures to the attention of the general public.

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New Jersey Taxpayers Association.—At the recent annual convention the organization unanimously adopted a platform approving the recommendations of the Princeton survey of the state government. The Association also recommends that *all* state expenditures be included in the Governor's budget, that the highway department be placed under the direct control of the state highway engineer in place of the present four-man commission, that the pension funds be investigated and placed on an actuarial basis, that the state adopt a pay-as-you-go policy for financing capital improvements, and that unemployment relief be financed by economies and retrenchments rather than by bonds. For improvement of local government the Association favors consolidation of municipalities, a clarification of the budgetary and bond procedure to restore municipal credit, the revision of state laws fixing local officials' salaries and relating to tenure of office, the revision of those present laws which obstruct the progress of any community toward a change to any form of local government which the citizens may wish to vote upon, reduction of the costs of education, and a commission to study and investigate in a scientific way the salaries in the state, county, and municipal services and to work out equitable salary schedules.

Wilder M. Rich, director of research for the Taxpayers Association resigned to become city manager of Hackensack, N. J., on July 17. A. R. Everson is the executive secretary.



NOTES AND EVENTS

The International City Managers Association's annual convention will be held at International House, Chicago, on September 18 to 20. A splendid program covering problems of finance and personnel administration, and matters pertaining to the city manager profession have been prepared.

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First Federal Loans to Cities.— Pushing ahead in its drive to get men back to work on useful projects, the Federal Public Works Administration has sent approved contract forms to five municipalities which had applied for loans and grants to construct water works systems. This announcement made on August 24 by Public Works Administrator Harold L. Ickes marks the actual beginning of the public works program, in its relation to cities, in the first granting and lending of federal funds to municipalities on their signature.

The cities of Arab, Alabama; Pahokee, Florida; Saylorville, Kentucky; Clarkton, Missouri; Fort Benton, Montana; Spearfish, South Dakota; and Newcastle, Wyoming, are those affected.

The five loans and grants covered by the contracts involve the expenditure of \$296,000 on the basis of a loan of 70 per cent of the total amount and a grant of 30 per cent of the labor and material cost upon completion of the work in a manner satisfactory to the Public Works Administration.

The form of contract, similar in each instance, calls for compliance with the rules and regulations of the Public Works Administration as prescribed by the President and with the policies adopted by the Administration.

Preference shall be given "so far as feasible and practicable" to the use of materials produced under codes of fair competition as provided in Title 1 of the National Recovery Act" if price, quality and quantity available are satisfactory to the Government."

The government reserves the right to inspect all work as it progresses and shall have access to all pay-rolls, records of personnel, invoices of materials and other data relevant to the performance of the contract.

All contractors and subcontractors are to report each month to the Department of Labor as to the number of persons on their pay-rolls and the man-hours of work provided.

All contracts and subcontracts shall prescribe minimum wage rates to be paid skilled and unskilled labor. A schedule of such rates is to be conspicuously posted at the site of the work. The 30-hour week is to prevail so far as practicable and feasible except in executive, administrative, and supervisory positions.

The contracts provide that the grant is to be made only after the government has found that the project has been constructed in "an efficient and economical manner" and that the financial and other affairs of the borrower are in good order and that its budget has been balanced or "that action is in process or in good faith assured therein, reasonably designed to bring the ordinary current expenditures of the borrower within the prudently estimated revenues of the borrower."

The loans are to be repaid with interest at 4 per cent per annum, payable semi-annually.

In addition to the projects mentioned above, the Public Works Administration has approved "in principle" projects totalling \$702,068 which are chiefly water works and sewerage systems. Other projects approved include:

Housing Projects, Neptune Gardens, Inc., Boston, \$3,500,000; Spence Estate Housing Corporation, Brooklyn, \$2,025,000; American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers, Philadelphia, \$845,000; Dick-Meyer Corporation, New York, \$3,210,000; Suburban Housing Association, Hutchinson, Kansas, \$40,000; and Triborough Bridge Authority, New York, \$44,200,000. (Loan, \$37,000,000; grant, \$7,200,000).

Tax Tangle in New York City.—A special session of the New York State legislature has authorized New York City to levy special taxes to help it in its present financial emergency; but the constitutionality of the law is in considerable doubt. Furthermore, the city administration has no comprehensive tax program. Perhaps because of the furor raised by Mayor O'Brien's earlier automobile tax proposal, the administration seems inclined to leave tax plans to Samuel Untermyer and the committee headed by Peter Grimm, realty representative and head of the Citizens Budget Commission, which was called to the city's assistance at the urging of Mr. Untermyer, who is taking his appointment of city financial adviser with great seriousness and vigor, and has not hesitated at drastic criticism. Mr. Grimm, however, has not welcomed such a responsibility for the committee, which, he states, is for the purpose of devising economies. The administration had made the proposal that the state be empowered to advance to the city a part of its share of next year's tax levies, but this the legislature declined to allow.

Th only tax that seems certain of adoption is a five-cent impost on taxicab rides. A city-imposed sales tax has been discussed, despite the opposition to more sales taxes that has arisen, and the adverse tendency as to business recovery which such a tax would be expected to have. A further horizontal cut in salaries of city employees has been suggested, but such a contrast to the nation-wide policy of higher wages would be a desperate and politically hazardous move. Meanwhile the obvious alternative of a reduction in the number and pay of political appointees, exempt from civil service requirements, remains, with little likelihood of being adopted by the administration in any drastic fashion.

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New Mexico to Vote on Tax Limit.—On Tuesday, September 19, a special election will be held in New Mexico at which four constitutional amendments will be voted on. The first relates to prohibition. The second limits the debt incurring power of school districts and limits the voting on such proposals to owners of real estate in the district. The third creates twelve judicial districts with at least one judge each.

The fourth of the amendments to be voted

on imposes a limit of twenty mills per dollar of assessed valuation, upon taxes levied upon real or personal tangible property for all purposes, except special levies upon specific classes of property and except necessary levies for public debt; but it permits laws to be passed authorizing additional taxes outside of such limitation, when approved by a majority of the electors.

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Bettors Joins Federal Administration.—Appointment of Paul V. Bettors, of Chicago, executive secretary of the United States Conference of Mayors, and the American Municipal Association, as liaison officer for the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works with municipalities, has been announced by Colonel Henry M. Waite, deputy public works administrator.

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Citizens' Councils in Action.—A Citizens' Council for Constructive Economy formed in Des Moines, Iowa, this month is the sixteenth that has been organized since the late spring. In twenty-four other cities preliminary meetings are being held and plans made for the formation of councils. Sixteen citizens' councils which had been formed before this year have associated themselves with us and have adopted the program of constructive economy in government and are directing efforts toward this end.

In nearly two hundred other communities there are individuals or organizations in touch with the central committee which is acting as a clearing house for information regarding the work of citizens' councils. The interest is confined to no one section of the country; these communities are located in forty-six states.

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The Kansas Legislative Council.—A new experiment in legislative procedure has been undertaken in Kansas. The law of March 13 provides for a legislative council of ten senators and fifteen representatives, with the president of the Senate and the speaker of the House serving respectively as chairman and vice-chairman. The council is large enough to give representation to the principal geographic areas and economic interests of the state. It is directed by law to meet at least once each quarter during the interim between the regular sessions of the

legislature, as a fact-finding and investigating body for the purpose of preparing a program for the succeeding legislature. The council is also required to study the possibilities of consolidations in state government and simplification of local government. Having provided a council chosen exclusively from its own membership, the legislature is in a position to extend effective support to the council's recommendations.

The Kansas legislature must attempt two years' work within a period of fifty to seventy days. When the next biennial session convenes most of the members arrive with one or two pet bills each, but without much conception of what a legislative program for the state as a whole should comprise. Attention is centered on local bills while the committees begin the arduous task of culling over as many as 1,400 bills and resolutions. It frequently happens that measures of great public importance are not ready to be reported out of committee until two weeks before the end of the session. It is not altogether surprising, therefore, that the recommendation of the Kansas (State) Chamber of Commerce for the creation of a legislative council gained the immediate approval of experienced legislators and the endorsement of numerous statewide organizations.

The council will tend to restore the legislature to its rightful place as a coördinate branch of the state government. Advocates of the council idea do not anticipate that it will eliminate the lobbyist. They do believe that it will develop legislative leadership, improve the quality of law-making, and raise the level of legislative intelligence. With comparative abundance of time there will be opportunity for all groups and interests to be heard; statistics can be compiled, and the results of technical research studied.

At its first three-day session the council adopted rules and organized four committees and ten subcommittees. Sixteen proposals were introduced and referred for study; among them proposals for redistricting of schools, home rule for cities, a corporation code, and correction of conflicting statutes. The immediate task facing the council is to prepare for a special session of the legislature in November to take advantage of recently enacted federal legislation.

C. S. STRAIN

Kansas City Chamber of Commerce

Public Administration Clearing House Opens Washington Office.—On account of the increased necessity for rapid clearing of information between federal officials and many of the organizations in the field of public administration, the Public Administration Clearing House has opened a branch office in Washington at 734 Jackson Place. Louis Brownlow, director of the Clearing House has made an arrangement with Arnold Bennett Hall of the Institute for Government Research of the Brookings Institution to borrow the services of Lewis Meriam. Mr. Meriam has assumed charge of the Washington office as manager for Mr. Brownlow.

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Effective Non-Partisan Government in Detroit Threatened.—Michigan party democracy is following a course which threatens ruin to Detroit's non-partisan system of government, beginning with the honest election system established by state law in 1915. Governor Comstock recently signed the Ruff elections bill, passed as the legislature was adjourning. It would force on 450 non-partisan cities and villages of Michigan the requirement that in all state and national elections, party representatives be employed in all election precincts. Hopeless confusion would result. Whatever the motives of the Democrats, the change would put partisans of the two major parties in complete charge of elections and leave non-political counting of ballots out in the cold.

It also is known that for the first time in many years, Detroit's non-partisan election of a mayor and nine councilmen will be featured by a Democratic party slate. Having got control of the state government November 8 last, due to the Roosevelt landslide, Democrats now seek to make it unanimous by an effort to capture control of heretofore non-partisan Detroit.

The Detroit Citizens League is meeting the issue by organizing, with the Michigan Municipal League, a city-state campaign for a referendum on the Ruff law, thus arresting its operation at least until a state-wide vote can be taken in November, 1934. The League also will attack the Ruff law in the courts, as a violation of home rule and of non-partisanship in city government. Evidently Detroit is beginning a long campaign to determine the permanency of its non-party government,

and particularly of its remarkably efficient system of local elections.

W. P. LOVETT

Detroit Citizens League

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Austin, Texas, Elects a City Council.—

The 1933 campaign for the election of a city council in Austin, Texas, developed a novel contest. On the one hand was the citizens' ticket, comprising five successful business men drafted and placed in nomination against their will, refusing to wage a campaign of any description and beseeching their friends to do them the service to allow them to be defeated at the polls. On the other was the people's ticket, made up of five men who accepted nomination without hesitation and who confessed frankly that they desired to be elected. The one found itself without public support, except for a series of newspaper advertisements, a few radio addresses, and one rally, all of which were planned and executed by private citizens with little or no coöperation from the candidates. The other carried its cause to the people through the usual channels, employing newspaper advertisements, the radio, and the public forum, and its members did their own talking in large part.

Austin has had the commission-manager form of government for some seven years, during which time the faction which effected the adoption of the manager plan has retained control continuously, nominating and electing its candidates for the council regularly every two years.

Those interested seriously in the spread of the manager plan and the acceptance of the spirit as well as the letter of that plan will hardly be satisfied with the decision of the voters of Austin, who elected four people's candidates and one citizens' ticket man to serve as their council for the next two years.

ROSCOE C. MARTIN

University of Texas

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New York City Tax Report Far from Model.—Too generally is assessing the Cinderella of government service. Even surveys too often skirt the problem. Few cities are given significant reports. Real estate owners tolerate this omission, to their serious injury.

New York City's tax report illustrates this, although twenty years ago New York led in tax reporting, and admitted it. Though it deals with twenty billion dollars in valuations there is not a syllable of comment, analysis, or interpretation.

When tax truths, meanings, trends, correctable evils are desperately needed as never before, the latest tax report, just out for the work done in 1931, is not only two assessing seasons late, but lacks information about tax remissions, certiorari proceedings, the comparison of sales prices with assessed valuations, the number of appeals with their successes and failures by boroughs and amounts, borough comparisons, relation of land to improvement valuations, district changes, principles used in cutting land valuations and in allowing for building depreciation.

There is not a word against a state equalization that loses the city two millions a year on special franchises alone and that has been yearly taxing the city in income tax losses.

If the facts were reported about these matters, taxpayers would be able to save huge sums now paid out to tax specialists and tax fixers and other huge sums left in favored pockets.

WILLIAM H. ALLEN

Institute for Public Service

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Staunton Retains Council-Manager Plan.

—Staunton, Virginia, which adopted the council-manager plan of city government in 1920, has passed through an active campaign wherein the opponents of the plan sought to have it replaced by a council elected by wards, an elected mayor, and an optional city manager, so-called. On June 29 the matter came to a decision at the polls, with 853, or 55 per cent, out of 1,544, voting to retain the existing plan. This is a slightly smaller proportion than voted for the plan in 1920; but the ward-council-mayor proposal was supported by the leaders of both local Democratic and Republican groups, as well as the fee officers, spoilsmen, and politicians generally. The citizens advocating the present plan were organized in a Good Government League, and had newspaper support.